

A
BARHAMVILLE
MISCELLANY

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE
SOUTH CAROLINA FEMALE COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE
1826-1865

CHIEFLY FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE
LATE HENRY CAMPBELL DAVIS



Edited by
Hennig Cohen

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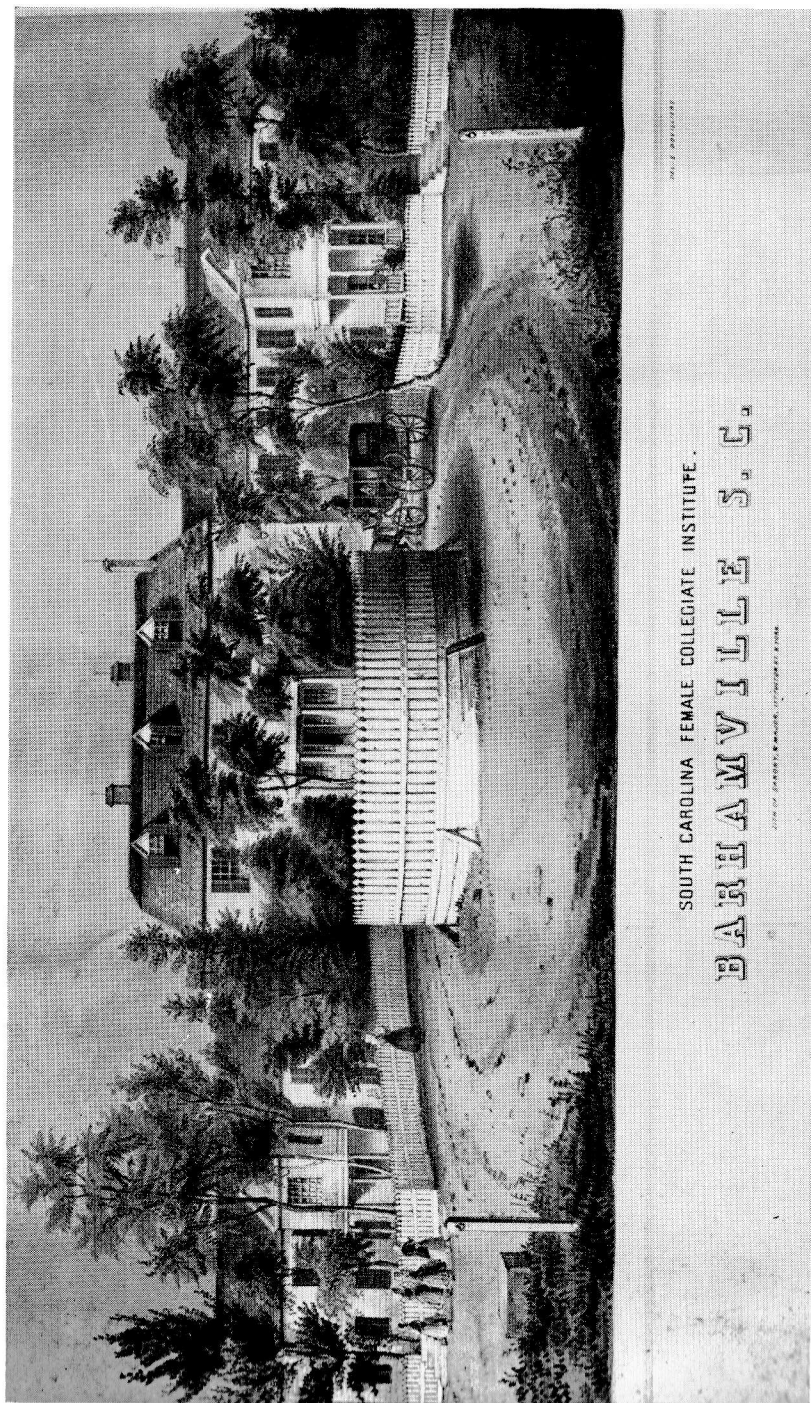
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SOUTH CAROLINA FEMALE COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE
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Edited by
Hennig Cohen

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INTRODUCTION

I first heard of Barhamville twenty years ago as a student in a freshman composition class taught by Henry C. Davis. Later, when as a graduate student I was reading Anglo-Saxon with Professor Davis, he somehow managed to introduce Barhamville into our discussions of Beowulf and although I cannot recall the connection, it seemed perfectly appropriate at the time.

Professor Davis was an inspiring teacher, indefatigable in his research, and he never felt that he had made more than a beginning in the task he had set for himself. Consequently, he continued to dig for new Barhamville materials to the end of his days. It has been my privilege to have available for this volume the results of Professor Davis' years of collecting.¹

Barhamville, or more formally, the South Carolina Female Collegiate Institute, was founded by Elias Marks who was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on December 2, 1790.² According to the manuscript "Recollections" of his children, he was the son of Humphrey Marks "who in 1785, together with a syndicate of wealthy men (Jews), was invited to Carolina by the Indigo and Rice planters [. . .] to invest money in Mortgages on plantations along the seaboard". He was converted to Methodism by his Negro nurse, attended the public schools in Charleston, and was graduated from the New York Medical College with bright prospects. "But, the educational bee had early in life alighted on Dr. Marks bonnet", the "Recollections" continue, "and after conducting a drug store in New York City for a few years, he returned South".

¹ Professor Davis' Barhamville collection consisted of a volume of Correspondence about the Institute, five volumes of miscellaneous Notes (including copies of many articles and other papers), several photographs, and forty-five manuscripts which are the larger portion of the South Caroliniana Library's South Carolina Female Collegiate Institute Papers.

Other manuscripts and unpublished material reproduced or cited in this volume are likewise from the South Caroliniana Library.

² This sketch of Dr. Marks is based on a manuscript (SCFCI Papers) entitled "Recollections of Mrs. Edwina Chamberlin", his daughter, who died in Washington in 1918 (Davis, Correspondence about Barhamville, Jan. 3, 1919). It may, however, be drawn primarily from statements of her brother Edward, who died in Plattsburgh, New York, in 1912 (*ibid.*, Jan. 29, 1929). The article on Marks in the *Dictionary of American Biography* is by Professor Davis.

"When I knew Dr. Marks, he and his family were members of the Episcopal Church, Trinity, Columbia." (Sophia M. Reynolds, Mar. 14, 1901, Davis, Correspondence about Barhamville.)

In New York, Dr. Marks had married Miss Jane Barham and the two became principals of the Columbia Female Academy. Mrs. Marks died in 1827.³ A year later Dr. Marks set about establishing his Institute. He chose a site in the sand-hill resort region a mile or two north of Columbia, and had the good fortune to secure as his assistant Mrs. Julia Pierpont Warne, principal of a girls school at Sparta, Georgia, who had been trained by Emma Willard, the feminist educator.⁴ "She was an enthusiastic educationalist; a woman endowed with remarkable powers of quiet, unconscious government, of deep religious feeling—hospitable, generous, dignified." Mrs. Warne and Dr. Marks were married in 1833, and it is evident from many sources that the credit for Barhamville's success should be shared almost equally by the two of them. They retired in June, 1861, and moved north in 1867. The school buildings were destroyed by fire in 1869.⁵

In the perspective that time provides, Barhamville may seem a small matter, and the mark which it left grows increasingly faint. But the school has historical significance and its contribution toward the shaping of a culture during a critical time deserves notice from those who are interested in the workings of the Southern mind, past and present. Barhamville was a pioneer in the campaign for the higher education for women. The battle has long been won, but the courage and foresight of its early leaders should not be forgotten. Five women's colleges were founded in South Carolina in the two decades prior to 1861 and survived the war. The Institute had none of the support given them by the churches, but Dr. and Mrs. Marks and their colleagues had pointed the way and set the standard for the colleges which succeeded.

The proof that Barhamville attained the difficult goal set by its founder lies in the quiet accomplishment of its students.

³ The *Columbia Telescope*, June 12, 1821, carries the program of the examination of the pupils of the Columbia Female Academy on May 29th, with the address of Dr. Elias Marks, Principal, on presenting the "premiums", and records the satisfaction of the trustees "that this academy is now well fitted in the persons of Dr. Marks and his lady." An 1824 advertisement (Davis, Barhamville Notes, III, 5) of the academy trustees indicates that Marks became Principal in 1821. The *Camden Gazette*, Sept. 7, 1820, advertises the Columbia Female Seminary under the superintendence of Mrs. Marks; for her death (June 24, 1827) see *South Carolina State Gazette and Commercial Advertiser* (Columbia), July 27, 1827.

⁴ Dr. Marks announced (*Pendleton Messenger*, Oct. 21, 1829) that Mrs. Warne would join the staff Jan. 1st following.

⁵ "Recollections". Julia Pierpont was born at Harwinton, Connecticut, Mar. 9 1793; she married Henry Warne of Augusta, Georgia, "who died about 1825"; Dr. Marks died in Washington, D. C., June 22, 1886 (*ibid.*).

Strict standards of work and the experience of group effort in a well organized school enabled these girls to step out of their home circles into the first public services ever opened to Southern women. Barhamville had taught its lessons so well that when, in the 1860's and thereafter, the test of fire came, its effect was not to melt but to temper.

These selected records of an outstanding antebellum school therefore have the sweet attraction of a lost cause without its bitterness.

The grateful acknowledgment of those interested in the work of the South Caroliniana Library and the University South Caroliniana Society is due to Mrs. Henry C. Davis who presented the Barhamville collection and who made this publication possible. I should like to express my particular indebtedness to the general editor of this series, Dr. Robert L. Meriwether, who not only guided my hand and saved me from error, but who also edited the final chapter. I am indebted to Mrs. Julian Hennig for the benefit of her knowledge of Barhamville and Sophie Sosnowski. My thanks are also due to Mrs. Virginia McMaster Foard, Mrs. W. Bedford Moore, Jr., and Mrs. James S. Verner. Finally, I should like to record my gratitude to my wife, Merrie Lou Conaway Cohen, whose assistance in this undertaking, as in all my pursuits and endeavors, has been invaluable.

HENNIG COHEN

University of Pennsylvania
October 30, 1956

CONTENTS

Introduction	iii
<i>Hints on Female Education</i>	1
Announcing the Institute	12
A Barhamville <i>Circular</i> , 1855-56	17
Miss Sophia M. Reynolds' Sketch of Barhamville . . .	24
A Barhamville Girl Writes Home	30
Literary Barhamville	36
The Ornamental Departments	44
Days That Were Remembered	52
The Last Days of Barhamville	58
Index	68

ILLUSTRATIONS

Barhamville *Frontispiece*

From the engraving by E. Dovilliers, lithographed
by Sarony & Major, New York.

Title page of *Hints on Female Education* . . *Facing page* 1

From the Harvard University Library copy; the title
page of the South Caroliniana Library copy is de-
fective.

Dr. Elias Marks *Facing page* 12

"S. E. View of the South Carolina Female Collegiate
Institute" *Facing page* 15

"Drawn by Zimmerman about 1837"—from photo-
graph (South Caroliniana Library) of lithograph by
Pendleton's Lithography, Boston.

Cover of "Chicora"—Song by E. Marks and A. Hatschek
Facing page 48

Senior class "medal" of 1859 67

From an engraving in SCFCI Papers; see p. 54, n 7.

J. M. Harris.
HINTS
ON
Female Education,
WITH AN OUTLINE
OF
AN INSTITUTION
FOR THE
EDUCATION OF FEMALES,
TERMED
The So. Ca. Female Institute,
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
DR. ELIAS MARKS.
This Institute, situated at Barhamville,
TWO MILES FROM COLUMBIA,
WILL GO INTO OPERATION
Oct. 1st. 1828.

Columbia.
PRINTED BY DAVID W. SIMS,
State Printer,
AT THE TELESCOPE OFFICE,
1828.

HINTS ON FEMALE EDUCATION

The minutes of the Euphradian Society, a student forensic organization at the South Carolina College, record that on October 18, 1828, the query: "Is a Liberal Education as necessary for a Woman as for a man?" was the subject debated.¹ That the South Carolina Female Institute at nearby Barhamville officially opened on October 1 of the same year perhaps explains this manifestation of interest in higher education for women. Dr. Marks was at least partially responsible for keeping the topic before the public. Two years before he had addressed a memorial to the South Carolina legislature on behalf of "Female Education" but "The committee, to whom it was referred, deemed it *inexpedient* to legislate on the subject." Hence he undertook "singly . . . that, which was deemed *inexpedient* for the many."²

To rally support to his cause and to obtain pupils for his school, Dr. Marks issued a pamphlet which he called *Hints on Female Education*. Following a prefatory statement which seeks to justify his position are the essays entitled "General Remarks on the Subject of Female Education"—a vigorous argument for education based largely on the duties girls would assume as mothers—and "Difficulties which present themselves, as they respect an efficient course of Female Education" which is reproduced here. Thereafter are a "Plan of Instruction Adopted in the South Carolina Female Institute"; a description of the virtues of the site and facilities which is headed "Location" and in which he presented the case for healthful exercise; the "Rules of the South Carolina Female Institute", and a "Conspectus" listing on a long folded leaf the studies and daily schedule for each of the four classes. The "Plan" and the "Rules" formed the basis of the newspaper advertisements announcing the school. The pamphlet is a period piece but obviously served its purpose well, and Dr. Marks had the satisfaction of seeing subsequent editions in 1837 and in 1851.³

¹ South Caroliniana Library.

² *Hints*, p. 6.

³ The 1837 edition (copy in Harvard University Library) and the one of 1851—both published in Columbia—have the "General Remarks", and the "Difficulties" sections, with considerable revision, and the former also has the Plan of Instruction.

DIFFICULTIES

*Which present themselves, as they respect an efficient course
of*

FEMALE EDUCATION

These arise, *first*, from errors in domestic education; *secondly*, from the desultory and imperfect manner, in which an Academic course is pursued; *thirdly*, from a desire of blending the advantages of fashionable society, with those derived from the teacher; and *fourthly*, from the incapacity of teachers themselves.

To the *first* of these, we have already adverted. We shall, therefore, submit a few observations on the desultory and imperfect manner, in which the pupil is hurried through what she has been led to consider a probationary state, viz: the period allotted to instruction. It would appear from the course which most pursue on this occasion, they deem the attainment of knowledge of so *positive* a nature, that, like other commodities in market, it can be vended and obtained in parcels to suit purchasers, just as time, convenience, and opportunity serve. Now, as Education does not consist so much in any particular acquisition, as in the right ordering and training of the minds of youth, so as to impart a habit of correct reasoning, and a method of pursuing knowledge to the most advantage, the very principle sought after, by a systematic course of knowledge, is by this means lost sight of. Every thing that is valuable in character,—decision, a resolution to accomplish whatever has been begun,—in short all that goes to make up the individual, and upon which her future happiness and respectability eminently depend, must be given at what may be termed the *forming* stage of life. The principles then implanted, send down their roots to the very sources of existence, and are interwoven with the moral and intellectual nature of the being. And is this the period, in which parents are to vacillate, and children left to the guidance of a capricious and everchanging disposition? When every sail is to be set in order to catch the gale, which is to speed the youthful voyager onward, ought the season and opportunity to be lost? Ought not the interruptions to be as few as possible, and should not every occasion be seized, to quicken the en-

thusiasm, and to point to the goal, which the youthful aspirant should ever hold in view?

An association, once established in the mind, is the more difficult of renewal, the more often it is broken. Interruptions are to be deprecated, as not only having a tendency to impair the intellectual energy, but to establish a habit in after life, which, whether connected with domestic or other duties, must tend to the unhappiness of the individual, and of those around her. In the first place, the positive acquisition of any good, throwing aside what some have termed the chance of contingencies, must be in a direct ratio with the quantity of industry brought into requisition, in a given time. The intervals of relaxation must be truly such. They must have a tendency to impart additional physical and moral energy. Even in their amusement, the *Athletae* of the ancients, kept in view the *business* to which they were trained. In like manner, the amusements of youth must be such as impart a healthful energy and enthusiasm. In this point of view, the sports of youth may be considered as useful preparations, for hours of serious and laborious study. We must, therefore, distinguish between those intervals of ease, so essential to elasticity of mind, and that desultory mode of pursuing a valuable object, which, as the poet says,

“ ————— Gives no light,
But rather darkness visible.”

Is it possible, that parents so far deceive themselves, as to imagine that those occasional glimpses of *terra firma*, will be of any positive advantage to the pupil? In labouring up the acclivity, even in our pauses, we must be sure to secure what we have gained, otherwise, by the natural proneness to descent, the ball will speed downwards. It is only when the hill is fairly gained, that we can pause with some complacency of feeling.

No truth ought to be more thoroughly impressed upon the minds of youth, than that nothing excellent can be obtained without assiduous application. Next to a desultory manner of study, is the disposition so prevalent in youth, to miscellaneous reading. Novelty in itself is so attractive, throughout every period of life, that we must take care, the love of it does not run counter to valuable purposes, which, on our

first setting out we propose to ourselves; while it may be reasonably indulged, as a useful and healthful excitement to the mind, it should be made subservient to virtuous and noble ends. It is an excellent condiment, but a bad food; and he who proposes to himself

*To lean the book 'gainst pleasure's bowl,
And turn the leaf with folly's feather,*

will find himself more frequently dipping into the bowl than into the volume. This fondness for what may be termed the *piquante* in literary matters, produces the same effect upon the mind, that a variety of dishes do upon the stomach, tending to vitiate and destroy that wholesome relish, which it would, otherwise have for what is solid and valuable. Indeed, in all our pursuits, some one system must be laid down and pursued. Without this, the mind like an Obidah, in endeavouring to blend the useful with the agreeable, is apt to wander forth into nooks and windings, and that which was originally proposed as a temporary digression, becomes in a short time, the sole object of pursuit, excluding all others, so that the student is herself astonished, when she reverts to the object, which she had in view, on her setting out.

If youth, then be naturally prone to these aberrations, how truly unfortunate is it, when the parent, instead of skilfully directing the enthusiasm to one object, suffers it to be dissipated in a thousand aimless and unprofitable employments. On this occasion, the failure of making any positive advance in knowledge, is not the greatest injury sustained. An evil of greater magnitude, influencing the individual to the latest period of her life, is, that by this means, she acquires a capricious and vacillating character. The energies of the mind become weakened, just as they are directed to many objects. But, so far from being conscious of this, the parent hails the little hot-house exuberances of imagination, proceeding from these causes, as unerring indications of a future harvest!

"A man," says Cowper, "who has a journey before him, twenty miles in length, which he is to perform on foot, will not hesitate and doubt, whether he shall set out or not, because he does not readily conceive how he shall reach the end of it, for he knows by the simple operation of moving one foot forward, and then the other, he shall be sure to accomplish

it." It may furthermore, be observed, that in thus putting one foot forward, and then the other, our progress is not to be estimated, numerically, by the number of steps which we have taken. It is by one step succeeding another, uninterruptedly, that we gain an accelerated speed, the preceeding step giving an impetus to that which follows. It is, in fact, with the mind, as with the body,—nothing is so truly fatiguing as a sauntering gait.

Let it, then, be impressed upon the minds of youth, on their first setting out in life, that patient and systematic perseverance is essential to success. Are you covetous of wealth, of glory, of worldly distinctions, or of learning? These you may attain; but in order to do so, you must be patient, systematic and persevering. Superior intellectual capacity can do nothing without it. It is not by one effort nor by a number of interrupted efforts, that superior talents are formed: as in the material, so in the moral world, all that charms by its excellence or utility, has been the result of a silently and ceaselessly progressive action; a systematic perseverance in one given pursuit, in which the motive, the aim, and the object, are one!—On the other hand—are we not to ascribe most failures to a versatile enthusiasm, always varying its course and changing its object? Is it not evident that the *sum* of mind, when directed to one given object, must produce a greater result, than when divided among many?

And, lest our views on this subject may be misunderstood—we would wish, at the risk even of becoming tedious, to repeat, that we are decidedly opposed to overtasking the mind with duties, which have a tendency to impair its energies, and render science in itself unlovely and repulsive: for the nature of the intellectual faculty is such, that under an over-excitement of this kind, it either loses its elasticity, or slides into the opposite extreme.

So far from refusing our assent to those sports and relaxations, which the pupil, physically and morally, requires, we would wish to be considered as a sincere advocate for the alternation of these with study. When these come in, which they unquestionably may, as auxiliaries, they are to be seized on as invaluable means of effecting, by a process equally agreeable to teacher and scholar, the furtherance of the objects of

instruction. Whenever the imagination and taste offer themselves as volunteers, or can be enlisted in the cause of science, they ought to be hailed as the *avant-couriers* of truth itself, whether employed for inculcating principles, or illustrating facts.

The *third difficulty* which presents itself, as it respects an efficient course of female education, proceeds from a desire of blending the advantages of fashionable society, with those derived from the teacher.

The impracticability of this will readily occur to every reflective being. We are aware that education consists, for the most part, in fixing in the minds of youth the *rudiments* of knowledge, and it is difficult to conceive, how the tender and uninformed intellect can, at the same time, like the trees of the Hesperides, bear both blossoms and fruit.—And if this be the case, how indifferent, how poor, are the specimens which they afford of either!

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?

We must distinguish between those things, which may be accounted wholesome incentives to knowledge, and those, which, on the contrary, create a distaste for it. In a certain state of advancement, indeed, when the mind has made *positive* acquisitions, an alternation of society and study is of considerable advantage. But the observations which have been made, as they respect the advantages to be derived from travelling, may be applied on this occasion. In order that a youth may bring something from society, she must carry something into it; as there may be a travelled fool, so there may be a fashionable one.

If the mind, by previous discipline, has not been prepared for society, the impressions received, if any, are as vague and indefinite, as those of the last night's dream. The pupil may acquire a few imitative graces, lisp unmeaning sentiment very prettily, and even continue to play off some few common-places; but these sit as awkwardly upon her, and are as apparent to the discerning, as the adventitious colours imparted to the cheek.

Indeed, it is truly ridiculous to observe the routine of what may be termed a fashionable education. "As duly as the swallows disappear," the child is sent from the parental roof, and

placed beneath the care of the teacher, for about three or four months; but the re-appearance of the emigrant feathered tribe, is the signal for her departure, and she returns to her home with her satchel and its contents, bidding adieu to her studies for the remaining two-thirds of the year. On her return, the instructor finds himself, doomed to the labours of a Sisyphus,

"Up the high hill to heave the huge round stone."

And we may curtly conclude, by remarking, that as it regards the amount of services, given and received, it would have been time and money saved, to have suffered her to remain at home. And what is her career, for the short period of her pupilage during which she is banished from her home. Each week or fortnight has its private or public assembly, or ball. A few days must necessarily be employed in preparation; and as for the day—the important day, which ushers in the Gala night—Alas! it is in vain, the impotent teacher, invested in all his majesty, endeavours to fasten attention or excite enthusiasm. What are the dull formulæ of the school room to a young girl, whose head is in a perfect rotatory movement by the anticipation of the coming evening's delight; and who is busily employed in the thousand-and-one preparations, necessary for the occasion? What are "the wise saws and modern instances" of the gowned pedagogue, to the fascinating graces, which already flit before the imagination of the pupil? Then comes the morrow, and with the morrow, all the sequentiae of the yesternight—yawning, sleepiness, head-aches, reminiscencies, recapitulations, &c. &c. &c. It is thus, in fact, that one single *route*, with all its appendages, co-essential and occasional, does, more or less, occupy the space of one entire week!

It, then, appears, that there are situations, either decidedly favourable or unfavourable to the purposes of education; that there must be a *nidus* for each individual pursuit, and that the *business* of education must be done efficiently and continuously, or it is altogether defective. All who have pursued any professional study are aware, that it is not by a desultory course they arrive at any thing like a respectable proficiency. But the parent fears lest the retirement essential to institutions, established for the purpose of affording an *efficient* course of instruction, will, by removing the pupil from an

intercourse with general society, preclude that ease and grace of manners, essential to a well bred and well educated female. They think otherwise and "order these things differently" in Europe, and we need not say, the result is obvious and striking! To do away with this objection, we could easily enumerate the names of some of the most distinguished females, the characters of whom would not only furnish a striking refutation of such an erroneous opinion, but really prove the decided advantages of *Institutions* removed a few miles from a metropolis. It has been well observed, that such situations are most friendly to the cultivation of the heart and head. A short remove of this kind, places the individual, as it were, on an advance ground, precisely in a situation where she may occasionally avail herself of the quickening impulse and spirit stirring excitement of a city, and of that retirement, so grateful to the mind and feelings of the scholar and the being of moral and religious sentiment.

In fact, to what are we to attribute, the superficial, gossiping, tittle-tattle, hey-dey maners of many of our fashionable belles, but to the circumstance of their airs and graces being ingrafted on a weak and immature stock? Their manners, one can easily perceive, are exotic;—their smiles and graces are put on and taken off with the ball dress; and the neglected wreath, thrown by and fading, is no bad representative of the nymph, when removed from the light, music, and frivolities of the assembly room. Their characters want that native elastic spring—that freshness—that raciness; in which Milton has so beautifully invested the first of womankind.

Indeed, all that is precious,⁴ is, with few exceptions—good for nothing. Throughout the physical and moral world, this principle, strikingly anological, seems pretty generally to obtain. For our own part, we have seen so much of young folks, who are men and women *in anticipation*, that we are disposed, for the most part, to view the intellectual developement of such pigmy heroes and heroines, much in the same light, as we do the vegetable productions of the hothouse: the fruit is there, but the delicate bloom, the richly matured juices, and the peculiar fragrance are wanting. In many instances, a too early and anxious attention to these, has not only defeated

⁴ "Precocious"—see 1851 edition, p. 22.

the labours of the teacher, but has absolutely rendered the pupil unfit to receive instruction. To use the poet's language, exterior grace must be the creature of a polished mind. A cultivated intellect, a pious and chastened moral character, *must* and *do* produce their correspondent effects upon the maners of the individual.

And, *fourthly*, we have to advert to a subject, which we know not exactly how to approach, without having the whole *agmen quadratum* of school masters and mistresses' swarming about our ears, like unhoused hornets. *Here* we incur the charge of invidious feelings; *there* of vanity and self-complacency,

In vitare charybdem, &c.

But, we *must* go on.—The incapacity of teachers, may be adduced as the greatest obstacle to an efficient course of female education. What are the qualifications of those who are placed at the very vestibule of society, precisely in that situation, wherein the individual takes her line of departure, and, of course, whence the least deviation on either hand, must cause her divergence from the right, to be in a direct ratio with the time in which she is engaged. Now, as we regard the profession of a teacher to be the most important and responsible one, whether we consider its effects upon the individual, or upon society at large, which can devolve upon any member of the human family, we *prefer* the following questions;—

Who are the teachers of youth? How have they qualified themselves for the *profession* of teaching? What have been their previous opportunities and application? By what *criteria* are we to judge of their competency? And, lastly, who are the qualified and proper judges? We have our medical board and medical college; and in the professions of law and divinity, the competency of the candidate for public patronage is made manifest, by the occasions on which it is called forth. But, the teacher is an *autocrat*, self-invested in power and dignity, and who is the hardy *stripling* that would dare call in question the *dicta* of him, whose authority is absolute in the infant realm which he governs? In the humblest mechanical profession, some evidence of the qualifications of the individual is required; and yet, how truly extraordinary is it, on a subject of such deep and vital importance to society, as that

of instruction, so little positive evidence is given or required, as it regards the ability of those who are to officiate as instructors. In city, town, or hamlet, the instructor is "the cynosure of neighbouring eyes;" his scheme of teaching includes a perfect encyclopedia of the arts and sciences, and personating in his individual self, *les maitres* of Moliere's Bourgeois Gentilhomme, he proposes to teach *le Latin, le Grec et la Philosophie*. Does the profession of teaching, differing from all others, require no previous initiation; or is it demanded of the teacher, that before he attempts to impart, he should have received instruction, and that he should understand those subjects, which he professes to teach! But, the fact is, throughout "our merry land," most of our teachers proceed as the Gil Perez of Le Sage: "Il entreprit de m' apprendre lui meme a lire, ce qui ne lui fut pas moins utile qu' a moi; car en me fesant connoitre mes lettres, il se remit a la lecture."

Is not the inefficient course of instruction, or to speak more correctly, the negative result, to be assigned frequently to causes of this kind? This is a question, which comes home to the business and bosoms of every parent; and, we do repeat it, if in any profession assurance ought to be made doubly sure, "that the probation have no hinge or loop to hang a doubt on," it is in the qualifications of the teacher. How, then, does it come to pass, while in other professions a mediocrity of talent is by no means uncommon, in that of teaching the attainment of its professors should be of the most humble kind? In answering this question, we think we may assign the two following causes; first, the little inducement, either as it respects honor or emolument, which men of tolerable attainments have to adopt this profession; and, secondly, most of those who are qualified for the duties, propose them only as a temporary expedient for the attainment of a learned profession. Besides, to men of aspiring dispositions, what inducements can be held forth to embrace a profession, which sentimentally, all delight to honor, but which truly and practically, is placed upon a very humble foundation. This does not imply a fault in public opinion; for this *opinion*, like the physical law of fluids, indicates by a scale of just gradation, the true *level* of persons and things. It is with professions, as with sects; their reputation depends, in a great measure,

upon the constituent parts which go to make up the compound. Apply this to the professions of medicine, law, and divinity, and it will be found correct. In fact, the dignity and excellency of any one profession, *do* and *will* depend upon the dignity and excellency of the majority of those persons, of whom the profession is composed. This is exemplified in the department of surgery. It is little better than a century, since the barber and surgeon were identified in the same individual, and the physicians of Europe peremptorily refused to grant diplomas, or to admit into the class of gentlemen those who devoted themselves to chirurgical science. At the present day baronets and knights may be found in the ranks of surgeons. "Dionysius is at Corinth," was the sneering reply of the Lacedemonians to the threats of Phillip. Milton, panoplied in all the learning of antiquity, could only be attacked, in what his cotemporaries deemed his vulnerable point. Indeed it is only the other day, in a controversy between a learned professor and a noble lord, the latter being discomfited by the arguments of his opponent, in order to turn the scale of victory, was obliged, like another Scipio, to carry the war into the enemy's country, and attack him *focis et arcis*. From these and other causes, the ranks of teachers are, for the most part, filled up with what may be considered humble votaries in the lists of letters; and it must be taken for granted, that he who can enter the innermost part of the temple of science, will not be content to be "a proselyte of the gate."

ANNOUNCING THE INSTITUTE

Aware that in order to succeed he must publicize his venture, Dr. Elias Marks inserted in the newspapers two advertisements describing the new school in considerable detail. The first, in the *State Gazette* of August 30, 1828, provides full information of such pertinent matters as expenses, the length of the term, and social regulations, and is printed here. The second, in the *Columbia Telescope* January 2, 1829, describes the educational philosophy of the institution and its instructional methods, and is primarily an application of the principles set forth in the "Difficulties" section of his *Hints*. Both advertisements carry the same introductory statements calling attention to the advantages of the site and identical final sections devoted to requirements for graduation, library and religious facilities, and a table of expenses. A third advertisement, for the *Pendleton Messenger* of September 11, 1835, is likewise for promotional purposes. It announces the reorganization of the school on a "Collegiate" basis and is the earliest instance of the use of this word as part of its official name.

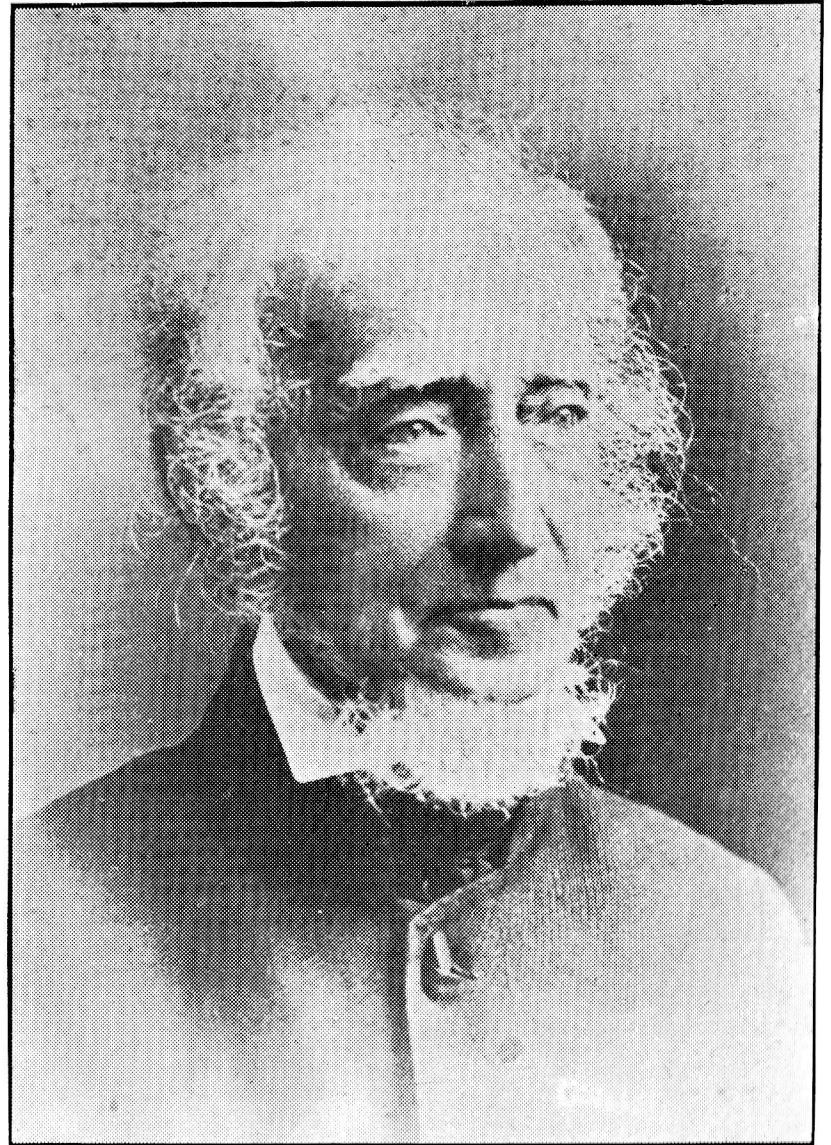
THE SOUTH CAROLINA FEMALE INSTITUTE¹

Under the Direction of Dr. Elias Marks

Who has resigned his situation as Principal of the Female Academy in Columbia, will go into operation, October 1, 1828. The Institute is situated at Barhamville, two miles from Columbia. The Advantages of the present location are, 1st An efficient course of Female Education, on a scale of economy, which places the attainment of it, within the power of parents in moderate circumstances.

¹ *State Gazette*, Aug. 30, 1828. The headings of these three advertisements have been abbreviated, the type approximated only, and some of the paragraphs have been combined.

In the transcription of papers capitals and periods have been supplied, when needed, for the beginning and ending of sentences and superscript letters brought down to the line. "&" is rendered "and" (except in "& Co." and "&c."), and any punctuation accompanying abbreviations by a period. Otherwise the papers have been literally transcribed except for further changes, noted at the beginnings of certain sections, which seemed to be required by their peculiar format. Gaps of less than a sentence, due to tears in the paper or blots, are indicated by [...], or [...] if as much as a sentence is involved. Omissions by the editor of trivial or irrelevant matter are indicated similarly. Editorial comment or explanation, if in the text, is in italics enclosed in brackets.



2. Contiguity to the Capital, by which it derives all the essential comforts of a suburban retreat, and is rendered easy of access to its patrons, being, at the same time, sufficiently removed from those every day excitements and interruptions, which innovate so materially upon the regular routine of literary institutions. Precisely such is the location of the most approved Female Academies in Europe.

3. Health and exercise.

Rules of the South Carolina Female Institute.²

1. The Scholastic year is divided into two sessions of six months each, the first session commencing on the 1st day of January, and ending on the second week in June, the period of examination; the second session commencing on the 1st day of July, and terminating on the 1st of January, allowing at this time, a vacation of one month.

2. No pupil is received for a less period of time than one session, and in order to produce that system of classification, which a well regulated literary institution requires, so that the respective classes shall be formed and enter upon the duties at the same time, it is announced that all pupils who enter, are charged from the commencement of the session (the first of January and the first of July.)

3. The charge for Board, and all the Branches of a complete English education, so far as the pupil is prepared to receive them, together with ink, quills, &c. (excepting books and stationary) is \$175 per annum; one session payable in advance and if entered for two sessions, a note for the remaining session, payable at the end of the session. As the Institution will commence its operations on the 1st of October, 1828, from that period, until the 1st of January, will constitute the half of a session (\$43.75.), after which period, the sessions will occur in their regular order, i. e. on the 1st of January and the 1st of July.

The charge for Board and Tuition, is alike to all pupils, without respect to the class, which they enter, as the pupils of the Juvenile and Junior Classes, receive as much of the labours of the Teachers, as those of the Senior.

4. The wardrobe of the pupil, in every respect to be simple and neat, shall consist, during the week, of coloured ———

² The "Rules" present only minor changes from those of the *Hints*.

and on Sabbaths, when they attend divine worship, shall be either white or black.

Every article of dress, deemed superfluous by the directress, or incompatible with the regulations of the Institute, shall be placed in the hands of the principal directress, who will be responsible for the re-delivery of the same, when the pupil shall return to her home.

These regulations are [*intended*]*—*1st, to confine the views of the pupil to her scholastic duties, and 2nd, to supercede every thing like store accounts, and all those things, which come under the name of *supernumeraries*, *sundries*, and *contingent expenses*, &c. &c.

5. All visiting on the part of the pupils, is positively prohibited. The pupils will not be allowed to attend either private or public assemblies, while under the care of the principal, or considered as inmates of the Institute.

Patrons, and respectable female relatives, who may reside in Columbia, or in the vicinity of the Institute, will be received as visitors on Saturdays after 11 o'clock, A. M. or from 3 till 5 o'clock, P. M. On this occasion, a note expressive of the intention of the visitor, is to be directed to the Principal of the Institute, or principal Directress. (A previous notification is not required on Sabbaths, for the purpose of attending Divine Service in the Academic Edifice.) Although the observance of this rule, on all occasions, is not only desirable, but essential to the good order of the Institute, yet the PARENT OR IMMEDIATE GUARDIAN will be received on other days of the week

6. A pupil on entering, is to furnish the principal Directress with a schedule, containing an inventory of clothing, &c belonging to her; a copy of which, after the wardrobe of the pupil has been inspected, is to be retained by the pupil, and pasted on the inner cover of her trunk.

7. The pupils of the South Carolina Female Institute will visit the Capital, attended by their Teachers and Directresses, and conveyed in carriages, twice a year. 1st At the commencement of the South Carolina College, and on the 22d day of February, (Washington's Birth day.)

8. No expenditure shall be incurred by the pupil unless a written order to that effect, be received from the parent or

guardian, either at the time of placing the pupil in the Institute, or at a subsequent period. An order-book will be presented to the parent or patron entering a scholar, for the purpose of receiving the specific instructions in writing, of the person, by whom the scholar is entered.

9. Agreeably to a regulation, long since adopted by the Principal, the pupil will be required to address her parents or guardians, by letter, on the first each month. On the first of every other month, a printed voucher will be forwarded to the parent or guardian, containing an *exhibit* of studies, conduct, &c. for the preceding two months.

10. Pupils, on the completion of their studies in the Junior Class, will receive the honor of *Edgeworth Graduate*; those who have finished their Academic career, will receive the final honor of *Senior Graduate of the South Carolina Female Institute*.

A well selected Library is attached to the Institute.

Agreeably to an arrangement made, Divine Service will be performed on the Sabbaths, in the Academic Edifice, by the Chaplain of the Institute. [...]³

As many engagements have been formed, those desirous of entering pupils, will be pleased to address the Principal as early as possible. All letters directed to the Principal must be postpaid. Those who are desirous of being informed particularly of the plan of instruction, adopted in the S. C. F. I. can, on application, be furnished with a pamphlet, giving an outline of the same.

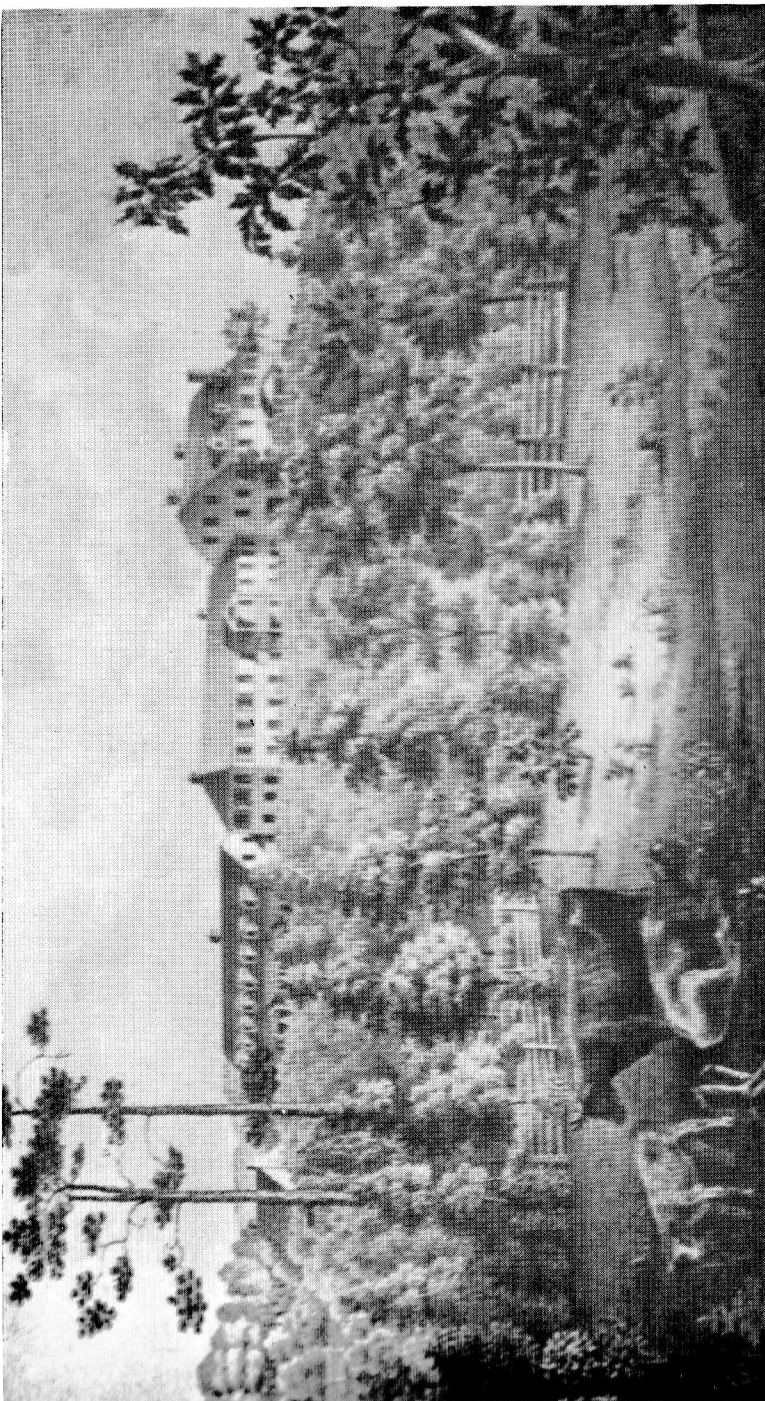
SOUTH CAROLINA FEMALE COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE ⁴

A re-organization of the Institute, designated as above, is herewith announced. The S. C. F. C. I. will henceforth, be placed, as it regards the periods of its commencement and close, upon the same foundation with similar literary Institutions in Prussia, Germany, and other parts of Continental

³ This paragraph is followed by a list of "Instructors": Dr. Elias Marks, Principal, Mr. J. La Taste, Mr. J. Lucien La Taste, Mrs. Eliza Cater, Principal Directress, Miss Maria Leslie, 2nd Directress, _____ 3rd Directress; and a paragraph of "Rates of Board and Tuition": "Board and English Tuition... (exclusive of text books)," \$67.50 per session, \$175 per year; by the session, non-resident pupils, \$40; Latin, French, Spanish, or Italian languages, each, \$32; Music, piano, \$50; Music, harp or guitar, \$60; Entrance to Musical Department, \$5; Drawing, \$32; Velvet painting, per course, \$10; Dancing, \$10 per quarter. "Textbooks furnished at store prices."

⁴ The *Pendleton Messenger*, Sept. 11, 1835.

"S. E. View of the South Carolina Female Collegiate Institute"



Europe. The regular period of *Commencement* will, hereafter, occur on the *second Monday in October*, and the collegiate year will close at the end of the *second week in June*. The ensuing collegiate year will, therefore, commence on Monday, 12th October, 1835.

There will be *no Annual public Examination of pupils*. The Institution will be opened five days of the week, during the hours of recitation, from 7 A. M. to 5 P. M., to the inspection of patrons and those interested in the cause of Female Education. No pupil will be received for a less period of time than the entire collegiate year.

It is expected, that the course of reading, &c. of Pupils, during vacation, whether they remain at the Institute, or at their homes, will have reference to the routine of collegiate studies. For this purpose, a syllabus, prescribing the course to be pursued, will be drawn up by the Principal. [...]⁵

An additional charge will be made for Pupils, who remain at the Institute, during vacation. One half of the amount of each Session, payable in advance; and the remainder, payable at the end of the collegiate year in June. Attached to the Institute, are a well selected Library, Philosophical and Chemical Apparatus, and a Cabinet of Minerals.

ELIAS MARKS, M. D. *Principal* [...]⁶

⁵ There follows a statement of advantages of the longer vacation and "Terms" which include: "Board, and entire course of Studies in Literary and Scientific Departments, inclusive of washing, fire-wood, candles, ink and quills, &c. \$200 for collegiate year."

The rates noted in n3 above for Latin and French, entrance to Musical Department, Drawing and Dancing are repeated, but there is substituted a flat charge for Music, piano, harp or guitar of \$50 each, and "Chemistry with use of Chemical apparatus", \$16; Botany, \$10, and use of piano, \$6, are added.

⁶ Five other South Carolina papers, two in Georgia, and one in Alabama were asked to carry the advertisement four times.

A BARHAMVILLE CIRCULAR, 1855-56

"There is no institution in the country which enjoys a higher reputation than that at Barhamville," the editor of the *Columbia Daily Carolina Times* declared on June 24, 1856. Of Dr. Marks, its principal, he reported that "hundreds of ladies who now preside with efficiency and dignity over Southern families, evince their appreciation of his merits, by subjecting their own daughters to the same mental training they themselves experienced." Thus the *Circular* [...] for 1855-56, partly reprinted here, covers a period when Barhamville was enjoying a well merited success.¹

Like the catalogues and other official publications, this *Circular* is a primary source of information about the curriculum, expenses, regulations, facilities, student body and faculty. It reveals, for example, that the curriculum was "systematic", a favorite word of Dr. Marks, and aimed at fundamentals. Yet the optional courses—optional perhaps to justify extra fees—and the languages attracted many students, as report cards and bills which have survived attest. Textbooks appear to have been well chosen and the "Apparatus" adequate. Costs were rising. The *Annual Report* of 1853-54 states that "Board and entire Course of Studies in Literary and Scientific Departments" was "\$200.00 for Collegiate Year", and this figure had not changed for at least nineteen years.² The *Circular* reveals an abrupt increase of twenty-five per cent. Barhamville was an expensive school to planters' daughters whose fathers did not have much ready money, the daughter of a former student recalled in later years.³ In spirit at least, the regulations and educational philosophy remained unchanged.

¹ Dr. Marks used the terms "*Circular*" and *Annual Report* indiscriminately for his annual announcements or catalogues. The following are the ones referred to in these pages:

Circular of the South Carolina Female Collegiate Institute at Barhamville, near Columbia, South Carolina, 1849-50.

Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the South Carolina Female Collegiate Institute, . . . and Catalogue of Pupils, of Session 1852 and 1853, Columbia, 1853.

Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the South Carolina Female Collegiate Institute, . . . and Catalogue of Pupils of Session 1853 and 1854, Columbia, 1854.

Circular of the South Carolina Female Collegiate Institute for Ensuing Collegiate Year of 1855-1856, Troy, N. Y., 1855.

Circular of the South Carolina Female Collegiate Institute, being the Fortieth Year of Actual Professional Services of Its Proprietor and Principal; and the Thirtieth Annual Report, . . . for . . . 1857-1858, Columbia, 1857.

² See also *Camden Journal and Southern Whig*, Sept. 12, 1855.

³ Davis, *Barhamville Notes*, III, 148.

The emphasis was still upon the individual, and the atmosphere of high seriousness continued to prevail. In regard to the student body, the *Circular* indicates that patronage came from the central districts of South Carolina. The college drew a few students from other southern states. Perhaps, as the remark of the editor of the *Daily Carolina Times* suggests, they were children of Barhamville alumnae who had emigrated. The number, although too small to prove that the reputation of the college had gone far beyond the borders of the state, had been fairly constant for the past several years.⁴ A notable feature of the enrollment information is the roster of those who had completed requirements for the diploma and a list of graduate students.⁵

COURSE OF STUDIES.

Preparatory Department.

FIRST HALF OF COLLEGIATE YEAR.	LAST HALF OF COLLEGIATE YEAR.
Arithmetic.	Arithmetic, (completed.)
Modern Geography.	Elementary History.
Grammar.	Grammatical Exercises.
U. S. History.	Reading and Writing, with Composition, throughout the course.

First Collegiate Class.

Algebra.	Algebra (completed.)
Ancient Geography.	Ancient History.
Physiological Botany.	Descriptive Botany, with Analysis of Plants.
Descriptive Mineralogy.	Parker's Aids to Composition.

⁴ The *Circular* for 1849-50 shows an enrollment of 90, including 12 from other Southern States. The *Annual Report* for 1853-54 lists 112 students, including 8 who were not from South Carolina.

⁵ The following students are also listed as "Graduates of 1856": Mary D. Ancrum, Laura Boatwright, Mary L. Brown, Hannah A. Fraser, Emma L. Green, Eliza W. Irby, M. Elizabeth Jones, Floride M. Kirk, Margaret J. Leitner, Mary H. McAiley, Mary E. McLure, Isabella Milling, Amanda McConnel, Mary E. Rogers, Sallie E. Thompson, Mary J. Whitaker; and the following as "Resident Graduates": Louisa L. Neely, Sophia M. Reynolds, Martha S. Wier.

Second Collegiate Class.

FIRST HALF OF COLLEGIATE YEAR.	LAST HALF OF COLLEGIATE YEAR.
Geometry.	Geometry, 4 Books, (remain- ing books optional.)
Rhetoric.	Cowper's Task, (critically read,) Synonimes.
Chemistry.	Woodbridge's Geography.
Analysis of Minerals.	
Shurtleff's U. S. Government.	

Junior Class.

Natural Philosophy.	Natural Philosophy, (completed.)
Logic.	Evidences of Christianity.
Modern History.	Historical Lectures on the Nineteenth Century.
Astronomy.	Geology.

Senior Class.

Intellectual Philosophy.	Moral Philosophy.
Butler's Analogy.	Milton, (critically read.)
Kame's Elements of Criticism.	Lectures on Belles Lettres.
University Arithmetic.	Book Keeping.

Optional Course.

MUSIC.	DRAWING.
Bertini's, Hunten's, and Czerny's Instruction for Piano.	Thenot's Practical Perspective.
Carulli's and Carcasi's for Guitar.	Copying—Pencil and Crayon.
Nason's Vocal Class Book, & Knigsley's Juvenile Choir for Classes.	Sketching from Nature.
	PAINTING.
	In Water and Oil.

Language.

FRENCH.	SPANISH.
Ollendorf.	Ollendorf.
Vie de Washington.	New Spanish Reader.
Charles XII.	Cartas Marruecas.
Noel et Chapsal's Grammar.	Conquista de Mejico, by Solis.
Telemaque, Piccioli.	Poesias de Melendez Valdes.
Noel el Chapsal's Literature Francaise.	LATIN.
Racine.	Weld's Latin Lessons.
	Andrew's and Stoddard's Grammar.
ITALIAN.	Arnold's Exercises and Reader.
Ollendorf.	Cæsar's Commentaries.
Crestomazia Italiana.	Virgil, Cicero, Horace, Tacitus.
Le Mie Prigioni, by Silvio Pellico.	

Apparatus.

The Institute is supplied with numerous new and superior Pianos, approved Apparatus, Maps, Charts, Globes, etc., constituting abundant means of illustration in the branches of Geography, History, Physiology, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, etc.

PUPILS.

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Mary H. Adams,	Richland Dist., South Carolina
Sylvia G. Adams,	" " " "
Sallie Adams,	" " " "
Mary D. Ancrum,	Camden, " "
Laura Boatwright,	Columbia, " "
Sallie A. Boatwright,	Columbia, " "
Mary Ann Burbidge,	Walterboro', " "
Mary E. Boyd,	Cokesbury, " "
Anna M. Bookter,	Richland, " "
Mary L. Brown,	Liberty Hill, " "
Jane H. Boone,	Sumter, " "
Ann R. Briggs,	" " "
Emma L. Bates,	Richland, " "

NAMES.

RESIDENCES.

Ella E. Bates,	Lexington,	South Carolina.
M. Josephine Browne,	Columbia,	" "
Mary L. Barnes,	Lancaster,	" "
Caroline M. Coggeshall,	Darlington,	" "
Elizabeth Cunningham,	Barhamville,	" "
Mary J. Chatham,	Abbeville,	" "
Mary G. Clarke,	Fairfield,	" "
Caroline N. Clarke,	Newnan,	Georgia.
Sallie M. Campbell,	Laurens Dist.,	South Carolina.
Caroline M. Durant,	Sumter,	" "
S. Olivia Durant,	"	" "
Caroline M. Desel,	Charleston,	" "
Eliza E. Dillard,	Laurens,	" "
M. Elizabeth Durant,	Sumter,	" "
Clara J. Dubose,	Sumter Dist.,	" "
Catherine C. Deveaux,	Pineville,	South Carolina.
Grace B. Elmore,	Columbia,	" "
Lizzie D. English,	Cahawba,	Alabama.
Mary Jane Fox,	Lexington Dist.,	South Carolina.
Ellen L. Flinn,	Darlington,	" "
Hannah A. Fraser,	Sumter,	" "
Vermille V. Fraser,	"	" "
Julia A. Farrow,	Laurens,	" "
Louisa M. Fraser,	Darlington,	" "
Elizabeth J. Fleming,	Laurens,	" "
Jane J. Flud,	Charleston,	" "
Matilda M. Flud,	"	" "
Amelia N. Ferguson,	Laurens,	" "
Amanda J. Ferguson,	"	" "
Victoria Ann Gary,	Cokesbury,	" "
Eliza Harriet Green,	Sumter,	" "
Emma L. Green,	"	" "
Mary E. Henly,	Yorkville,	" "
Henrietta M. Hane,	Fort Motte,	" "
Louisa Jane Harlee,	Marion,	" "
Sallie E. Harlee,	"	" "
Mary R. Hunter,	Laurens,	" "
Julia Hart,	New York.	
Eliza W. Irby,	Laurens Dist.,	South Carolina.
M. Elizabeth Jones,	Edgefield,	" "

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Margaret C. Jones,	<i>Edgefield,</i> South Carolina
Floride M. Kirk,	<i>Beaufort,</i> " "
Charlotte K. Kilgore,	<i>Kershaw,</i> " "
Margaret J. Leitner,	<i>Fairfield,</i> " "
E. Madeline Lattimer,	<i>Abbeville,</i> " "
Mary C. Lyles,	<i>Fairfield,</i> " "
Sallie E. Lyles,	" " "
Ann R. Latta,	<i>Yorkville,</i> " "
Margaret M. Latta,	" " "
Mary A. McCracken,	<i>Georgetown,</i> " "
Martha E. McCown,	<i>Darlington Dist.,</i> " "
Louisa S. McCown,	" " "
Hester S. McCown,	" " "
Margaret S. McCown,	" " "
Mary C. McLure,	<i>Chesterville,</i> " "
Mary H. McAliley,	" " "
Margaret L. McCall,	<i>Darlington,</i> " "
Julia C. McCaw,	<i>Abbeville,</i> South Carolina.
Fannie M. McCaw,	" " "
Ann E. McCall,	<i>Darlington,</i> " "
Elizabeth S. McKelvey,	<i>Pineville,</i> " "
Mary A. McKie,	<i>Edgefield,</i> " "
Claudia S. Means,	<i>Fairfield,</i> " "
Sarah E. Mikell,	<i>Edisto Island</i> " "
Isabella Milling,	<i>Camden,</i> " "
Amanda McConnel,	<i>Columbia,</i> " "
Rebecca A. Myers,	<i>Autauga,</i> Alabama.
Louisa L. Neely,	<i>Savannah,</i> Georgia.
Elizabeth C. A. Orchard,	<i>Barhamville,</i> South Carolina.
Victoria V. O'Bryan,	<i>Walterboro',</i> " "
Mary H. Owens,	<i>Winnsboro',</i> " "
Rebecca L. Patterson,	<i>Liberty Hill,</i> " "
Jane C. Patterson,	" " " "
Sarah J. Pitts,	<i>Laurens</i> " "
Jessie L. Porcher,	<i>Marion,</i> " "
Mary S. Porcher,	" " "
Jane A. Quigley,	<i>Columbia,</i> " "
Sallie A. Rembert,	<i>Sumter,</i> " "
Addie M. Rembert,	" " "
Sophia M. Reynolds,	<i>Columbia,</i> " "

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Mary E. Robinson,	<i>Barnwell,</i> South Carolina
Mary E. Rogers,	<i>Darlington,</i> " "
Meta R. Rogers,	" " "
Sallie S. Richardson,	<i>Edgefield,</i> " "
Julia L. Rowe,	<i>Aiken,</i> " "
Mary A. Ruff,	<i>Newberry,</i> " "
Catherine E. Swearengim,	<i>Abbeville Dist.,</i> " "
Gertrude L. Sims,	<i>Darlington,</i> " "
Cecelia N. Seay,	<i>Richland,</i> " "
Mary Sinclair,	<i>Barhamville,</i> " "
Bellini O. Strawinski,	" " "
Josephine S. Sullivan,	<i>Madison,</i> Florida.
Ellen M. Sullivan,	" " "
Carrie C. Strother,	<i>Edgefield Dist.</i> South Carolina.
Lucy J. Smith,	<i>Abbeville,</i> " "
Anne Thomas,	<i>Fairfield,</i> " "
Elizabeth A. Thomas,	<i>Abbeville,</i> " "
Sallie E. Thompson,	<i>Liberty Hill,</i> " "
Lucy M. G. Toland,	<i>Fairfield,</i> South Carolina.
Josephine M. Thompson,	<i>Liberty Hill,</i> " "
Phoebe W. Townsend,	<i>Edisto Island,</i> " "
Charlotte D. Tillman,	<i>Lancaster,</i> " "
Mary C. Thomson,	<i>St. Matthews,</i> " "
Charlotte E. Wigfall,	<i>Barhamville,</i> " "
Mary J. Whitaker,	<i>Camden,</i> " "
Lucy A. Woodson,	<i>Houston,</i> " "
Fannie E. Witherspoon,	<i>Lancaster</i> " "
S. Edith Waring,	<i>Charleston,</i> " "
Isabella C. Williams,	<i>Yorkville,</i> " "
Elizabeth J. Wilds,	<i>Darlington,</i> " "
Martha S. Wier,	<i>Laurens,</i> " "

MISS SOPHIA M. REYNOLDS' SKETCH OF BARHAMVILLE

In 1901 Sophia M. Reynolds, who had spent most of her life as a teacher, wrote her recollections of Barhamville as she remembered it a half century before.¹ Miss Reynolds graduated in 1854 and stayed on as a "Resident Graduate" another year for further study in languages and science. In 1858 she and her aunt, Miss Jane Reynolds, also a Barhamville alumna, opened a private school for young ladies in Columbia. After a successful year, they were asked to take charge of the Columbia Female Academy, the institution of which Dr. Marks had once been principal. She remained with this academy until 1878 and was active in her profession for some twenty years thereafter.²

Miss Reynolds cloaked her reminiscences in a thin fictional guise. Barhamville, according to one of Dr. Marks' announcements, was "opened five days of the week, during the hours of recitation, from 7 A. M. to 5 P. M. to the inspection of patrons and those interested in the cause of Female Education."³ This custom provided the opportunity for the literary device of a visit to the school by a group of skeptical northern tourists. But so thin was Miss Reynolds' fictional veil that she herself forgot it and finally cast it aside altogether. In the end, her naive attempt at fiction merely serves to add a sense of conviction to the account.

SKETCH OF A SOUTHERN SCHOOL BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

In November 1852 three Northern tourists, a gentleman and two ladies, stopped for a few days at a hotel in Columbia, the capital of South Carolina.

After tea they fell into conversation with a gentleman from Marion, one of the eastern counties of S. C., in the course of which the Northern gentleman remarked, that he believed

¹ Davis, Correspondence about Barhamville, her letter of Feb. 11, 1901 to R. Means Davis; the sketch was written at his request, accompanied her letter, and is printed from the manuscript (SCFCI Papers).

² Davis, Correspondence about Barhamville, her letters of August 29, 1900, and February 18, 1901; *Daily Southern Guardian* (Columbia), December 11, 1858, August 12, 1859. For her attendance see *Annual Report* for 1852-53 and 1853-54 and the *Circular* for 1855-56.

³ Above, p. 16.

there were no schools for girls in the South worthy the name; certainly not in South Carolina.

"Mr. B." said the gentleman from Marion, "if you and your ladies will take a ride with me to-morrow morning, I will show you what will disabuse your mind of that idea."

At half past nine the next morning they left the hotel, and rode through the town, and out beyond the limits; out into the pine woods, through a broad, sandy road, until they entered a wood of scrubby oaks and long-leaved pine intermingled. A lonely road;—but after riding about two miles they entered a gate through which led a winding avenue, along which they rode until they saw before them a large building, three storied, built of wood, with one long, two storied wing stretching northward, and a two storied brick wing stretching southward.

The carriage stopped in front of the main entrance. In a few moments the door bell was answered by an elderly brown man, who very respectfully took their cards, and ushered them in through a wide carpeted hall, and up a broad, carpeted, winding stair, with mahogany balustrades.

The winding stair led them to an upper hall, the counterpart of the one below, and from which they entered a large parlor, into which the morning sun shone cheerily, and where a wood fire was burning in an open fireplace.

As they walked through the halls they heard no sound but the notes of musical instruments coming from various direction through the great building.

A few minutes after they were seated in the parlor, an old gentleman, gray-haired, but brisk in his movements entered, [accompanied] by an elderly lady.

The gentleman from Marion introduced the strangers as visitors who were desirous to see a Southern school, and he asked if they might be allowed to visit some of the classes, and to go through the house. "Certainly, my friend," said the Doctor, "our school is always open to the inspection of those who are interested in seeing its working. Come with us, we [will] go over the house with you."

They walked down the upper hall, and, turning through a room on the right, the Doctor said, "We will first go through the wooden wing which is called North Range." As they

walked, they wondered at the strange silence; not a sound but the notes of a piano, here and there on which a pupil seemed to be practising.

Walking along the corridor, the Doctor opened the first door on the right, a neat, pleasant room, carpeted, containing a double bed, wardrobe, washstand curtained off from the rest of the room, a small stove,—wood-box filled with wood and lightwood. "This room," said the Doctor, "is occupied by two young ladies, and all in this wing are of the same pattern." As they walked along they opened door after door and found it as the doctor had said. At the north end of the wing the corridor was terminated by a window overlooking a large vegetable garden, strawberry fields and cornfields, with a cottage at some distance occupied by one of the music teachers of the school, with his family.

Returning through the corridor, the strangers inquired how many pupils were in the school.

"One hundred and eighteen," said the Doctor.

"How is it then so quiet?" asked the visitors.

"It is always so at this hour," replied the Doctor; "It is now near eleven o'clock, and the young ladies are all in classes. Will you go into some of the recitation rooms?"

"That is what we should like," said the visitors.

Down the winding stair they went, then into a piazza 120 ft. long, from which they entered a small door, and ascended a narrow dark staircase. This led them into one of the upper rooms of the two-storied brick-range. It was a large room, near the corner of which was a fireplace, around which were several chairs as if they had been lately occupied for the fire was still burning.

A curtain divided the room through the middle, and one also ran through the middle at right angles, so that the large room was divided into four,—a parlor, and three bedrooms,—a very pleasant arrangement. From this room, which was lighted by six windows, they entered another, also lighted by six windows having deep window seats. A curtain divided this room into two, a parlor and a bedroom.

Mrs M., the Doctor's wife, told the strangers that these rooms were so arranged because the young ladies studied in their rooms, instead of in a general schoolroom. She added,

"They have always plenty of fire and their rooms are comfortable." This room was carpeted and had an open fireplace. Plenty of wood and lightwood.

Passing out of these "Brick Range" rooms, Dr. and Mrs. M. took their visitors down to the lower floor, and opening a door they entered a large, long recitation room.

As they entered a young lady was standing at the blackboard which extended the length of the room. The teacher, a lady, six feet high and proportionally large, stood near her explaining some knotty problem.⁴ The class, some 20 girls, seemed to be giving attention to the explanation.

The visitors did not sit down here as they were not interested in Algebra, but, passing out by another door, went through the long piazza, then down a few steps and through an open, covered way to a building which the Doctor called the laboratory.

Here a class of sixteen girls were giving close attention to explanations which their teacher was illustrating by experiments. Chairs were placed here for the visitors, and they sat for a while, becoming so much interested that they were sorry when a bell gave the signal that the lesson in Chemistry was over.

Three quarters of an hour, the time allotted for each recitation could not be overpast. Confusion would be the result. At the stroke of the bell the class was dismissed; the girls walked quietly out;—but, when they reached the covered passage-way they ran along, skipping, sliding, running and chatting. The visitors still sat, for in a few minutes, eighteen other girls walked in sedately to take the place of those who had gone out. And so it was throughout the day, from 8 A.M. till 5 P.M. with an intermission at half past one for dinner. At intervals of 3/4 of an hour the monitress ran along the piazza, ringing the school bell, the signal for classes to change. For five minutes there would be the sound of merry voices and rushing feet; then would follow the hush—the silence that the visitors had so wondered at, in a house so large, and filled with so many young people.

This was a school where work was done;—good work, thorough work. Dr. M. spared no pains, no expense, to get

⁴ Miss Agnes Gordon. "I think she was from Vermont"—Miss Reynolds' letter of February 18, 1901.

good teachers wherever they could be found. I speak from experience. In the years 1852, 1853 and 1854 there were teachers at Barhamville, S. C. who knew how to interest young girls in study, and Mrs. M. knew how to make them happy and comfortable. I have been always thankful for the years I spent there, for there was one teacher who made everything so clear, that it seemed as if every one must understand, and he threw so much earnestness into his work that he made study delightful.⁵

As the visitors sat after the Chemistry class had retired, the names were called for the next class, and one young lady after another was called to the black-board, to prove some proposition in geometry. If one failed, another took her place, and full explanations were given to those who did not understand.

At the next bell came a class in astronomy and the interest of the visitors was still kept up.

At half past one the bell rang loud and long, and an invitation was sent to the visitors to stay and join the school at dinner. They asked however to be allowed only to see the pupils take their seats; so, they stood at the door of the long dining-hall and saw a hundred girls come in, not in file or procession, but without confusion; then they took their leave.

The gentleman from Marion told them that he had a daughter there, and that the order and quiet that they had seen to-day was always the same.

Mrs. M. knew how to rule a school. When the girls were in their rooms in the day during study hours, or at night, they knew that Mrs M. might come in at any time and they all either feared her displeasure or desired her approval; therefore order was preserved. [...]

Students from all parts of S. C., from Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Florida, and even from Vermont have spent years of school life there; and all its graduates remember Barhamville with pleasure. Many of the grandmothers of children now living received there the foundation of a good education; had their ideas cultivated and enlarged.

At the time that this Institute was established there was in the minds of many Southerners a prejudice against a col-

lege education for girls; therefore, Dr Elias Marks, who had a great desire to give to girls a thorough and a higher education, when he applied to the S. C. Legislature for a charter for a college in which diplomas might be given, applied for it under the name of a "Charter for the South Carolina Female Collegiate Institute, at Barhamville, near Columbia."

SOPHIA M. REYNOLDS

⁵ Benjamin S. Miller of Oxford, N. Y.—*ibid.*

A BARHAMVILLE GIRL WRITES HOME

Few Barhamville letters have survived the years and this for two good reasons. Most of them doubtless contained little to encourage their preservation, filled as they probably were with messages of filial devotion, requests for clothing and comestibles, and mere girlish prattling. Subject matter was somewhat limited for although the students did not lead a precisely cloistered existence, their days were usually confined to a placid and uneventful routine. Such is not the stuff of which exciting correspondence is made. But a more important factor is that they did little letter writing.

"The fewer letters of a trifling character, girls at School receive and write, the better for their moral principles, and the more time they have to devote to what is useful," Dr. Marks stated in his *Catalogue* for the 1852-53 session. "All letters to the pupils, except such as are known to be from parents or from guardians, are subject to inspection. Letters should not be conveyed *privately* from, or to the pupils, through any channel." As if this were not enough to discourage an epistolary itch, students were permitted to write only at specified times. Thus, Cornelia Boyd of Williamsburg District, complained to her father, Dr. W. S. Boyd, that she could write only on Saturday, "therefore a week must pass between each letter." Even then there was scarcely sufficient time to indulge in extended correspondence. "I have a great deal to do now, as I have every Saturday," Cornelia continued. "We study two hours, practice two hours, write our letters, and arrange our clothes. By that time dinner is ready, after dinner we walk."¹

Mary H. McAliley of Chester, S. C., some of whose letters are presented here, explained that she had to write by moon light because she was kept so busy. Of course letters did get written, including quite a few "of trifling character." Those of Miss McAliley to her father, Samuel, and to her mother, also named Mary, seem to be fairly typical, containing as they do valuable insights into the boarding school experience and about equal amounts of triviality.

Miss McAliley's letters span the period between 1852 and 1855, the year she was graduated from the Institute.

¹ Davis, Barhamville Notes, II, 76.

[To Samuel McAliley]

Barhamville S. C. Oct 11, 1852

MY DEAR PA It is with infinite pleasure that I now write to you. I am very well satisfied with my school; and every thing gets on very well with me so far. The fare is not of the finest, but then it is as good as we could expect for so many. Teachers and all eat at the same table. I am studying Davies Arithmetic Parsing and Ancient Geography. I have not commenced writing yet, but expect to soon, and Music. I am very well pleased with my [blank] and my room-mates. Our teachers take a great deal of pains with us, and try to make us understand our lessons. We rise early and have to dress in three 1/4 of an hour, go down to prayers and then to Breakfast, and then we have to study until evening and dine at two. It is very lonely out here and you cant hear anything out here, nor see anything at all but trees. You must tell Ma she must not be uneasy about my not writing sooner and oftener as I cannot leave my studies to write; but she must write to me often and you must do the same. I am very anxious to hear from home and to know how you all are. You must write to me soon and let me know if you want me to study anything else. I have four room-mates and I like them very much. Give my love to Sam and James and tell them that I am very well pleased with my school; and that I hope they will try to improve; and be good boys. You must tell Sam to write to me soon. Excuse my short letter as I am in a hurry. Do write to me soon. Your devoted daughter

M. H. MCALILEY

[To Mrs. Mary H. McAliley]

Barhamville Nov. 8 1852

MY VERY DEAR MA I received your welcome letter just as I was sitting down to write you and the one before last also. I am very well indeed as well as I have ever been and very well satisfied. Pa came out to see me when he was down and I assure you I was very happy to see him. My room-mates are all quite well though some of them are not pleased. Cathe McFie is not at all satisfied and says she dont intend to come here any more. She is in the Senior Class and would graduate if she would study but she does not like to study and I do not

know wether she is or not. Very few are in that Class and none of them very smart. Lou Neely is going home Christmas but will come back. I have nothing new to write about for we never see any one out here or hear anything new. We had a Tableau on Thanksgiving night but no one except the girls were here and we enjoyed it very much. Mary McLure and myself were in town not long since and enjoyed ourselves very much at Mr. Boatwrights. Laura came out for us. We are to be examined to see if we are qualified to study Rhetoric. I get along very well with my studies and have stood ten for the last three weeks in parsing and ten one week in Algebra and for last week my average stand was nine and three fourths which I think was very good considering I have never studyed it before. Mrs. Marks gives me a great deal of praise for my ladylike conduct as she terms it and for my respect to the rules of the school. I was Monitress yesterday and did not have to study any but I was very tired when night came for I had so much running to do and ring the bell every three quarters of an hour.²

Mr Gordons sister arrived yesterday from the North. I do not know wether she will teach or not.³ Mary McLure is getting on very well but I do not know how she stands in Arithmetic or any of her classes. I had Miss Gordons book yesterday and that [*is*] the way I came to know how I stood in my Classes which I recite to her. Give my love to Aunt Nannie when you see her and Cousin Victoria and tell her she had better come down here to school for I think she would like it very much. And write to me soon. [. . .] I am very sorry that you could not send the box that you had prepared for me as it would be very acceptable at all times. You need not get me any new dress as I have plenty at present but I wish you would make me a sack for a shall is very inconvenient to wear down to Breakfast. I would like a Leghorn bonnet the best with [*an*] open border lined with Cherry coloured silk; and the prettiest ribbon you could find. Give my love to all the servants and tell them I am very well and tell Peggy I expected to hear from her ere this. Tell Sam and James that I hope they are getting on well with their studies and will come down to see me when

² Catherine A. Macfie of Columbia is listed in the catalogue for 1852-53, and Louisa L. Neely of Savannah, Ga., and Mary C. McLure of Chester, are listed in the catalogues of 1852-53, and 1853-54.

³ Miss Agnes Gordon is listed as an instructor in mathematics, grammar, and general literature in the catalogue of 1852-1853.

Pa comes. I am very much obliged to you for for the things that you sent me and I am very well pleased with them. Give my love to Miss Sarah and Susan and tell them to write to me soon. Give my love to all the family and accept a very large portion of the same for yourselves from your devoted daughter

MARY

[*To Samuel McAiley*]

Barhamville Wednesday [*December*] 1852

MY VERY DEAR PA. I have been looking for a letter from you ever since you went home and yet another night has rolled away and I am again disappointed. Ma told me in her letter that you arrived home sound and well. We have a very lonely time out here never see any [*one*] nor hear anything. If it was not that we had to study I do not know what we would do. I expect we will have a merry time Christmas. Dr. Mark changed his mind and has given us two days instead of one. Mary McLure has been looking for her Brother John to come for her but he has not come and so she is very much disappointed. I am very well indeed enjoy excellent health and get along very well in my studies. Most all the girls have gone home and therefore it is very lonely. Our Dancing-Master left us to day for Charleston but will return again about the last of February.⁴ You must tell Sam and James to write to me as I have not time to write to them and besides when I write to you and Ma I have to write by moon light. So write to me soon and tell me all the news and tell Ma she must do the same. Give my best love to Ma Sam and James and tell them do write and except a large portion of the same from your devoted daughter.

MARIE

Tell ma my dress fits very well indeed and that she must make my aprons longer and the binding wider.

[*To Samuel McAiley*]

Barhamville Wednesday. [*1853*] ⁵

MY VERY DEAR PA I received your very kind letter on Monday evening and also Ma's this evening. I was very glad to hear that you were all well. I am quite well enjoy excellent health

⁴ F. T. Strawinski is listed as "Professor of Dancing" in the catalogue of 1852-1853.
⁵ For the date see n7.

and have entirely recovered from my cough. I am making very good progress in my studies. Last Monday evening my average for the month was ten. The highest number that is ever given only seven had the pleasure of receiving that number. Mary and Lou also receiving the same. We have had also a beautiful day but I do not expect it will last long as it looks a little cloudy. I suppose you heard that two young ladies were expelled a week or two ago. I forgot to tell you last night or rather in my last letter.

Friday night

When you get this letter your first thought will be, that it must have taken me a very long time to write it but I declare I have so much to do that I cannot write long at a time. I have not got but four hours to prepare six recitations excluding the one I take exercise. We have had another beautiful day, and very pleasant indeed, neither too warm or too cold. I took a long walk this evening with a large number of my school-mates which I enjoyed very much. Nothing is more pleasant than a nice walk when we have been confined to study all day, althoug[h] study improve[s] the mind and gives us a great source of enjoyment yet the mind if it is always confined losses all it former strength and a great part of our after enjoyment in after life is also gone by our health. We have two examples of girls who take enough exercise Miss Townsend and her Cousin Miss Mikel.⁶ I wish you could see them every evening when we all go to walk wrapped in shawls and bonnets. Such an evening as this they go round the circle like race-horses. When I was sick she told me that she knew that it was because I did not take enough exercise. So the other [day?] she was taken sick I told her it was because she did not take exercise. I wish you could be here to here the two Miss McIver play and sing. They play and [sing] delightfully. A good many of the girls think that Miss Phiher plays better than any one in school but I do not think.⁷ She strike the keys too hard. You must not expect me to write you a long [letter] for I have not time to sit down and all is confusion and bustle. The Piano is going all the time enough to make one sick and tired of of it. We had one of the most beautiful experiences

⁶ Phoebe W. J. Townsend and Sarah E. Mikell, both of Edisto Island, are listed in the catalogues of 1852-53, 1853-54, and 1855-56.

⁷ Sallie S. Phiher of Charlotte, N. C., is listed in the catalogue of 1852-53; E. McIver and Fannie P. McIver, both of Society Hill, are listed in the catalogue of 1852-53 but not in that of the next year.

last night. It was the Kaleidoscope Mr Miller made for the benefit of the Philosophy scholars.⁸ Give my love to all my friend and Give My best love to Sam Jame Ma and and the same for yourself. Your ever devoted daughter

MARY H. MCALILEY

[To Mrs. Mary H. McAliley]

Barhamville, Feb th 8th 1855

MY DEAR MOTHER. I received your kind letter last Monday and I was very glad to hear that you were all well. A letter once a week seems a long interval between when I am anxious to hear from you. All your letters were received but I write sometimes oftener than once a week. You never do. Sam'l and James might write to me once in a while at least. They surely cannot have so much to do as not to have one moment to spare. I am much pleased to hear that they are making so much progres in learning and sincerely hope that their zeal will continue. We have very warm weather at present. Quite a contrast to some that we've had. I had no idea that it was as cold as Father told me you had had. Barhamville is so well heated, that we never are sensible of how cold it is.

Lou has been quite sick for several days, but she is much better now. A good many of the girls have bad cold. Beside this we have no sickness at all.

We have a hundred boarders now and six. So that Barham is quite crowded at this time. If many more come, I do not know where they will put them.

Mrs Neely is now in Florida with Mr John Neely who is quite sick. She does not intend staying there long but will return to New York.

Dr Marks has prohibited our receiving boxes after the fifth of Feb. We lament it very much though it is very much to our advantage. The girls say that if they will not let them have boxes they will write home for trunks. Do tell Father to send me some money. I want some shoes and several other things.

Give much love to Father Sam'l and James and accept the same from your devoted daughter.

MARY H. MCALILEY

⁸ Benjamin S. Miller taught "Higher Mathematics, Latin, Natural Science." His lecture, *Water and Its Relations* . . . , Columbia, 1854, to "The Young Ladies of the South-Carolina Female Collegiate Institute" was "published at their request."

LITERARY BARHAMVILLE

Barhamville took literature seriously as might be expected of an institution dominated by a schoolmaster who wrote pretentious verses as well as treatises on education and medicine. Catalogues, advertisements, broadsides and reports to parents attest the important place of literary subjects in the curriculum and hint at extra-curricular emphasis on them. Thus, the "Conspectus, Affording a tabular view of the Distribution of Studies" attached to the 1828 edition of his *Hints* outlines a "Course of Reading" which included such specific items as Cowper's *The Task*, Thomson's *The Seasons*, Young's *Night Thoughts*, Campbell's *Poems* and "popular lessons compiled from the writings of Mrs. Barbauld and Miss Edgeworth." Murray's grammar and Webster's spelling book provided a structural basis for literary composition, and the "Course of Reading" was buttressed with history, poetry, mythology, rhetoric, and other allied but less specifically described subjects. The flavor was clearly 18th century with the notable exception of the two ladies who advocated female education.

The later college publications provide evidence of an expanding interest in literature. *The Barhamville Register* of September, 1847, lists a faculty of eleven, including Dr. Marks as "Lecturer on History and Belles Lettres," an "Instructor in Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, and English Literature," two persons with the designation of "Directress in Literary and Social Duties," and an "Instructress in History, Composition and English Branches." The catalogue for the 1852-1853 session has "departments" of "History and Belles Lettres" and of "Mathematics, Grammar, General Literature." The monthly report for March of Mary Elizabeth Bellamy of Wilmington, N. C., a member of the junior class in 1858, shows that she was reading *The Vicar of Wakefield*, that she was using Hugh Blair's text in rhetoric, and that in English grammar and composition she had "read and parsed" Cowper, presumably *The Task*.¹ Milton was "critically read" by the senior class, according to the catalogue for 1857-1858. Seniors

¹ SCFCI Papers; "Dr. Marks lectured on history from his notes, an hour every day." (Recollections—see above, p. iii).

were also required to attend "Lectures on Belles Lettres" and to study Kames' *Elements of Criticism*. Though the catalogues are sometimes vague, they indicate the considerable extent to which literary subjects pervaded the curriculum.

It should be noted that the study of English literature and allied subjects were required of all students. The foreign languages, which provided further opportunities for literary study, were optional. Competent instruction in Latin, French, Spanish and Italian was available regularly and German was usually offered. Few students failed to study at least one foreign language.

In his *Hints on Female Education* Dr. Marks states that Barhamville had a "well selected Library".² The existence of adequate library facilities is invariably pointed to in the official college publications. Though details have not survived, it is reasonable to assume that the Barhamville library was a matter of special interest to Dr. Marks, and hence its contents were selected with care and students were encouraged to make use of it.

There is no doubt that Dr. Marks concerned himself with the reading habits of his charges. He entreated parents, in the catalogue of 1852-1853, not to send to the college "what are termed fashionable periodicals, or any light reading, which have a tendency to divert pupils from their studies, and create a distaste for the duties which lie before them." And his interest extended beyond the confines of his campus. In an announcement of the session beginning Oct. 9, 1837, Dr. Marks advised:

It is expected that the course of reading, &c. of pupils, during vacations, whether they remain at the institute or or at their homes, will have reference to the routine of collegiate studies. For this purpose, a syllabus, prescribing the course to be pursued, is drawn up by the Principal.

"A vacation of this kind," Dr. Marks continues, "so far from breaking upon a regular routine of duties, may, if judiciously employed, tend to confirm that routine."³

The ultimate and most rigid tests of the Barhamville literary climate are the extent to which it led to creativeness and the refinement of the sensibilities. While Barhamville created

² *Hints*, p. 43.
³ SCFCI Papers.

little that warrants serious attention, there are a few items that should not go unremarked. As for the intangible business of refining sensibilities, nothing can be proved, but much can be surmised. There was no laxness in the way Barhamville girls were taught. If they emerged without a decided improvement in taste and perception, the fault was doubtless their own.

Dr. Marks, and to a lesser extent his students, provide Barhamville's literary remains. A graduate of the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons, his dissertation, a *Conjectural Inquiry into the Relative Influence of the Mind and Stomach*, dealt with the connection of the moral faculty with the bodily functions, a subject in the then undifferentiated fields of psychology and physiology. In 1817 he published a translation of *Aphorisms of Hippocrates from the Latin Version of Verhoofd*, and his *Discourse on the Progress of Medical Science*, a pamphlet "Read, by appointment, before the Medical Board at Columbia," appeared in 1821. To this period also belongs *A Discourse on the Sophistication of Medical Theory, Read before the Physico-Medical Society* of which he was a fellow.⁴

Dr. Marks' transition from medicine to education resulted in publications in this field as well. The first was a textbook to be used at the Columbia Female Academy of which he was Principal prior to the founding of Barhamville. Published in Columbia in 1825, it was entitled *Questions Analytically Adapted to Dr. Samuel Whelpley's Compend of History . . . Compiled for the Use of the Second Class of Pupils in the Columbia Female Academy* "By the Principal of That Institution." His *Hints on Female Education*, published in 1828, the year of the opening of the South Carolina Female Institute, is obviously promotional, but it has importance for its carefully wrought defense of education for women set forth in a style that is vigorous and at times even witty. A second edition of the *Hints* was published in 1837 to which was appended "A valedictory addressed to those students who have been associated with the institute" and a syllabus of the kind aforementioned to occupy "students of the [. . .] Institute

⁴ *Dictionary of American Biography*, "Elias Marks", by H. C. Davis; the *Conjectural Inquiry* was "By Elias Marks of Charleston South Carolina", New York, 1815; a copy of the *Discourse* is in the Duke University Library.

during its vacation."⁵ A third edition appeared in 1851. So much for Dr. Marks' professional writings.

Dr. Marks liked to think of himself as a poet, and he seems to have written verse from his early youth. In 1850 D. Appleton & Co. of New York brought out *Elfreide of Guldal, A Scandinavian Legend; and Other Poems* "by Marks of Barhamville." The more ambitious of this collection are the title poem, a bland enough narrative of heroic doings amongst the Norsemen; "Semaël," a mystical effusion in a Levantine setting; and "Maia; a Mask." The remaining third of the book, subtitled "Weeds from Life's Sea-Shore," consists of short, mediocre verse of an autobiographic nature and lame expressions of assorted noble sentiments. "Elfreide" and "Semaël" warrant attention because they reveal Marks' taste and erudition. Without genius himself, he had the discernment to choose genius as his model. His major poems are obviously Miltonic, and "Maia," his most successful, has sufficient charm and grace to invite comparison with "Comus." "Maia" was performed as a May Day Pageant. It was the sort of thing that Marks and Barhamville could do well—dainty, unpretentious and restrained. Barhamville had competent musicians to train the singers and to provide appropriate tunes for Marks' pleasant verses, actresses aplenty, both pretty and docile, and a woodland setting that lent itself to the traditional formulas of the mask. For the purpose it served, "Maia" could hardly be improved.

William Gilmore Simms, the Great Cham of ante-bellum Southern letters, seems to have regarded Marks highly as a poet, but there is no evidence that Marks frequented Charleston literary circles nor that the two men were acquainted. When the Duyckinck brothers were putting together material for their comprehensive anthology of American literature, Simms supplied them with the names of Southern worthies, including Marks.⁶ In spite of this recommendation, the Duyckincks did not anthologize Marks, but sketches of him were printed by James Wood Davidson in 1869 and in *Appletons' Cyclopaedia* in 1888.⁷

⁵ Harvard College Library copy (Davis, Correspondence about Barhamville, March 4, 1929).

⁶ Oliphant, Mary C. Simms, et al., *The Letters of William Gilmore Simms*, III (Columbia, 1954), 332.

⁷ *Living Writers of the South* (Columbia, 1869), p. 368-9; *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IV (1888), p. 211. The Appletons sketch included a note that he "left an historical novel and a treatise on philosophy."

Another field of literary endeavor in which Dr. Marks busied himself was the publication of a college magazine "devoted to the interests of education, literature and science." In this undertaking he appears to have been a pioneer. *The Barhamville Register*, of which copies dated June 1st and September, 1847, are extant, antedate previously recorded literary periodicals published by educational institutions for women.⁸ Like most college magazines of the period, it was short-lived. The *Register* was established by the principals of the institution as "a journal, to be distributed among our patrons and the friends of female education, containing views in regard to the interest in which we are engaged, and discussing plans by which may be brought about some definite and established course of female education." Actually, the initial issue was not a scholarly periodical devoted to professional education but little more than a college catalogue with course descriptions and lists of students and faculty. The second issue, however, was more literary. Dr. Marks himself contributed a poem, a mildly chiding essay such as might be expected from a professor of belles lettres in which he denounced perpetrators of literary horror like Monk Lewis and Eugene Sue, an anecdote illustrating "Moral Heroism," and several paragraphs on education under the general heading, "From Our Common-Place Book." Prof. J. Darby, master of arts and one of the "principals" of the college, wrote a speculative article entitled "Matter" and an essay on Physical Education" advocating release from "the unnatural confinements, as they most commonly are, of the school-room" and relief from "modern fashions" which "smother the fires of vitality by coverings, laced and corded." A poem, an essay on "Truth," a column of scientific "Discoveries," an announcement of the employment of additional instructors in vocal music and oil painting, and a tabulation of the academic standing of the students completed the contents. The important thing about *The Barhamville Register* is not that its verse was poor or that its essays lacked originality but that it existed at all. Aside from the fact that it is apparently the earliest publication of its kind, it reveals the existence of more than the usual amount of literary talent and enterprise

⁸ Copies of the first and second numbers are, respectively, in the J. Rion McKissick and F. W. McMaster collections.

and it is yet another means of measuring the degree and quality of Barhamville's literary interest.

Student literary composition consisted of academic exercises and album verse and similar occasional poetry. In order to be "admitted to the highest honors of the Institute," i. e., receive a diploma, students were required to read an original essay at the commencement exercises. An anonymous contributor to the *Columbia Daily Telegraph* describes such a program.⁹ "The subjects generally were well selected and appropriate, and the style shows that the fair writers had been well exercised in the practice of composition," he reported, and noted that "we decided that *not one* of them was *too* long." Some of these commencement essays have survived, and unless there has been a startling change in taste, the author of the *Telegraph* article was more than charitable. The titles alone are appalling. Cordelia Strother of Edgefield wrote on "The Advantages of Mental Culture." Mary Elizabeth Bellamy of Wilmington, N. C., had as her subject "The External World a Manifestation of Deity." In justice to the newspaper account, these essays had the virtue of brevity. A file of classroom compositions is no less discouraging. Written in 1849 by Mary Jane Macfie of Columbia, they have such titles as "The Indian," "May You Die Among Your Kindred," "Modern Improvements," "The Influence of Music on the Soul," "The Searcher for Happiness" and "Sublimity in Nature."¹⁰

The album verse was at least more spontaneous and less pretentious. Margary A. Bollinger of Columbia wrote this "Introduction" to her album in 1852:

Since 'tis the practice of young girls, to send
Their *Albums* round to every special Friend,
I like the custom.—So I send you mine;
And beg you to insert a friendly line.
"A line" I said—Yes, ten or twelve or twenty,
The more—the more you please—since blanks are plenty,
Then choose your *Theme*, according to your pleasure,
And tax your skill in forming rhyme and measure.¹¹

Miss Bollinger's skill in doggerel was exceptional. The poorer album verses are tedious and the better ones smack of plagiarism. Original and equally spritely is a poem entitled

⁹ Below, p. 56.

¹⁰ SCFCI and F. W. McMaster Papers.

¹¹ Davis, *Barhamville Notes*, III, 151.

"Session Reminiscences 1844" composed jointly by Mary McCord and Sally Scott, prolific versifiers who frequently exchanged clever parodies.¹² It begins with this tribute to the Negro fiddler who played for Barhamville balls:

Come heavenly muse of grey goose quill
 Assay with wit our brains to fill—
 For without aid I'm very sure,
 We'll ne'er indite a poem more.
 Now first of all hail! jolly *Randal*
 Who with the dance doth banish scandal—
 All hail to thee melodeous chief
 Who with thy bow string wards off grief.
 How oft when in the mazy dance
 Fond eyes reflect each others glance,
 How oft light feet in tripping measure
 Scarce touched the floor for joy and pleasure
 And thou great Spirit of it all—
 Dark fiddler of commencement ball—
 Alas! how many pass thee by,
 Nor hear nor heed thee puff and sigh
 When wearied by thy mighty art
 Upon thy brow the dew drops start.

More typical is a poem entitled "Barhamville Days" which has such doleful lines as

And, weary with toiling through life's tangled ways,
 Still I cherish the light of old Barhamville days.

And a pious lament concludes:

Then let us seek that heavenly shore,
 Where angry tempests rage no more,
 And may our thoughts and aims be given
 To that blest home, reserved in Heaven.¹³

In the 1851 edition of his *Hints* Dr. Marks sums up his attitude toward the role of literature in the education of women. "Home is the sphere, in which female excellence is destined to revolve;" he wrote. But the performance of domestic duties is enhanced when blended "with what is elegant and refined in taste, and elevated in sentiment! "Literary pursuits, socially entered upon, are then far from being incompatible with those of domestic life," Dr. Marks believed. "The woman of a cultivated mind and cultivated moral sense, can be distinguished as such, in every department she fills."¹⁴

Motivated by this attitude, Dr. Marks gave literature a high place both in the classroom and peripheral academic activities. As is evidenced by the official college publications, the nature of the curriculum, the availability of a library, the direction of reading habits, and the encouragement given creative expression, a decidedly literary atmosphere prevailed at Barhamville.

¹² SCFCI Papers.

¹³ Davis, Barhamville Notes, III, 149; "By a pupil in the Columbia Female Institute"—*Edgefield Advertiser*, April 8, 1841.

¹⁴ P. 16-7.

THE ORNAMENTAL DEPARTMENTS

The "Conspectus" appended by Dr. Marks to the 1828 edition of his *Hints* provided "a tabular view of the Distribution of Studies" at Barhamville. It lists music, drawing and the foreign languages as the last three of the eighteen "departments" of the curriculum. Unlike the other departments, these three were open to all comers regardless of their class standing. They were the "ornamental subjects" which, for an additional fee, provided additional polish. The *Annual Report* of 1852-53 refers to an "ornamental department, such as music, languages, painting," a grouping of subjects which persisted through the years.¹ There was good reason for this special category aside from the financial one. Music, painting and the languages were often taught by the same people, who were predominantly of foreign extraction, and in a rather special sense provided the cosmopolitan touch at the college.

J. La Taste was associated with Dr. Marks when he conducted the Columbia Female Academy, where he taught music, dancing and the foreign languages. He and his son, J. Lucien La Taste, were on the original faculty at Barhamville.² Victor H. Manget taught Romance languages in the 1840's and his wife, Felice, was "Instructress in Drawing in Pencils and Crayons."³ The 1852-53 *Annual Report* lists Manuel M. Parraga as an instructor in piano and Spanish and Demetrio Parades as an art teacher and "Professor of Spanish, Italian and German Languages." According to the *Annual Report* of 1853-54 a Miss M. M. Sherwood Dawes, "a native of England" who "resided, for some years, in continental Europe" taught French, German and piano. The same catalogue records that F. T. Strawinski gave lessons on the guitar and was "Professor of Dancing" and that Carlos Mera was a teacher of piano and Spanish. The *Circular* for 1856-57 has Mde. Sophia Sosnowski, who was German, as an instructor in German Language, Vocal and Instrumental Music" and the Marks "Recollections" states that she taught painting as well.⁴ This list of versatile foreigners could be expanded considerably.

¹ P. 5.

² *State Gazette*, February 3, 1827; *Hints*, p. 43; they are listed in his advertisement of August 30, 1828 (above, p. 15, n³).

³ *Barhamville Register*, September, 1847.

⁴ See above p. iii.

The ability to teach languages in addition to their specialty was common to the *émigrés* professors at Barhamville. The "Conspectus" of 1828 announced courses in Latin, French, Spanish and Italian. To judge by the available enrollment records and the faculty rosters in the catalogues they were consistently the most popular languages, but German was also offered. In 1852 the faculty of twelve included four language instructors: Benjamin S. Miller, A. M., taught Latin; V. H. Manget taught French, Spanish and Italian; Demetrio Parades taught Spanish, Italian and German; and Manuel M. Parraga taught Spanish. The enrollment that year was ninety six.

In 1837 the Rev. Robert W. James Sr. of Salem, Sumter District, replied to an epistle from his daughter, Sarah, as follows:

Received your French letter by the last mail but cannot pronounce upon the correctness of it. As I suppose Doctor Marks looked over it every thing must be supposed to be right. I was no more than able to make out your sense and in one or two particulars was not sure I succeeded in that.⁵

The most intensive effort to promote French came during the regime of Madame Togno. A student in the 1860's, Elizabeth W. Allston of Georgetown District, wrote that Madame Togno "tried to make French the language of the school." This was not a difficulty for Miss Allston who spoke French well but it was hard for many of the other students. In later years she wrote:

Most of the girls were eighteen or nineteen and knew no French, so that it was impossible for them to converse in it. Finding this the case, madame made a rule that no one should speak at table except to say, "Passez moi le pain s'il vous plait," and all the other necessary requests for food; for we had two long tables and only one waitress.⁶

The range and thoroughness of the courses in music is shown by the variety of the offerings and the quality of the faculty. The advertisement of 1828 lists instruction in the piano, harp and guitar. In 1847 the *Barhamville Register* claimed that the "department of Music is filled by the most

⁵ Davis, Barhamville Notes, II, 49.

⁶ Elizabeth W. Allston Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, New York, 1922, p. 177-8.

accomplished performers." For the first time instruction in "vocal music" was available "conducted on the most approved and scientific plan by a Teacher of the very first character." According to the *Circular* of 1849-50 two of the ten faculty members serving ninety students devoted their full time to teaching music. They were William H. Orchard, "piano, harp and guitar, and vocal music in classes," and Miss Serena Bluxome, "piano, guitar and organ." Apparently they were teachers of merit for Dr. Marks praises their "superior qualifications" and "almost unequalled success of past years."

There were three music teachers, two of them full time, on the faculty of thirteen according to the *Annual Report* of 1852-53. The *Report* of 1853-54 has four instructors teaching courses in piano, and two teaching guitar, instruments which were consistently popular throughout the period. A professor of "The Theory and Practice of Instrumental and Vocal Music" joined the faculty in 1857.

The qualifications of the music teachers is best evidenced in the record of the proficiency of their pupils, their reputation as performers and their ability as composers. The curriculum was not designed to train professional musicians although in at least one instance a Barhamville girl attained public acclaim—Sally McCullough, a student in the 1860's—and in many cases graduates turned to careers as music teachers when they were unexpectedly called upon to earn a living.⁷ The record is equally slight in regard to the reputation of Barhamville music professors as performers although there are many scattered words of praise. As composers, however, information is available.

It should be remembered that the nineteenth century was the period of genteel piano tinkling and song. Sheet music publishing attained an importance that it never again reached. The Barhamville composers, therefore, turned to this field for profit and honor and while their work, like that of most others, was ephemeral, they left much evidence of success.

Wilhelm Incho is the earliest Barhamville composer of record. He is known to have written two pieces in the early 1830's. One of them, preserved in the bound music album of Laura N. Covert was called "The Institute Rondo" and was

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 180-1; Nell Flinn Gilland, *The State* (Columbia), May 12, 1929.

decorated with a picture of the school. It was published in New York in 1831.⁸ The second, a barcarolle by Auber arranged by Incho as a "Rondino for the Piano Forte," was published in New York in 1834.⁹ Later in the same decade Christopher Zimmerman, composed "A Fancy Waltz Composed for the Piano Forte" which was published by John Siegling in Charleston and "The Silesia March Arranged for the Piano Forte" which he dedicated to Rebecca Marks.¹⁰

F. T. Strawinski, the dancing master and music teacher, made a number of arrangements for the guitar during the 1840's, an era when this instrument was still fashionable. They include the ballads "When Other Friends Are Round Thee", "Life Is But Strife" and "Flow Gently Sweet Afton" and operatic airs from *Loretta* and *The Daughter of the Regiment*. They were published by well known music houses in Baltimore, New Orleans and Columbia.¹¹

Manuel Párraga, who appears in the catalogues from 1852 to 1854, composed several pieces listed in the program printed below. Señor Párraga took modest pride in his composition, "Barhamville Valse", as can be seen from his letter, written from Barhamville on July 6, 1854, to Mary H. McAliley of Chester, a favorite pupil:¹²

MY DEAR PUPIL: I have received "Barhamville Valse," and as you always seemed interested in the beautiful art in which I had the pleasure of instructing you, and also liked to hear me play that poor composition, not at all worthy of the popularity which it has met, I send you a copy of it.

The name of the piece will always bring to your recollections one place where you spent your days of study and received your education, as also your friends and companions. The obscure name of the composer will perhaps remind you of your teacher, who will never forget one of his best pupils, and with whose application and success was always pleased.

If you return to Barhamville next session, as I hope you will; you will find your teacher always the same, and always trying to instruct you with all his power.

You will not find *Barhamville* difficult, as you play much more complicated pieces, and my first desire would

⁸ Davis, Correspondence about Barhamville, October 27, 1930.

⁹ Davis, Barhamville Notes, III, 39.

¹⁰ Rebecca Marks was the daughter of Dr. Frederick Marks, brother of Elias (Richland County Wills—transcript, State Archives—IV, L, p. 186-7).

¹¹ See also Davis, Barhamville Notes, III, 38-41.

¹² SCFCI Papers, July 6, 1854.

be to have you learn it, and when you play it remember your friends, companions, and your teacher and humble servant

MANUEL M. PÁRRAGA

It is gratifying to learn from her letter to her mother after her return to college that Miss McAliley was continuing her lessons with Señor Párraga whom she considered "an excellent teacher." Furthermore, she shared with Sarah E. Thompson of Liberty Hill and Mary D. Ancrum of Camden the honor of performing in a public recital that year, she as a soloist and her fellow students in an arrangement "for Piano at four hands." The principal artist was Párraga who played several of his own compositions. A copy of the program, neatly written in the typical Barhamville script, was preserved by Miss McAliley as follows:¹³

PROGRAMME.

First Part.

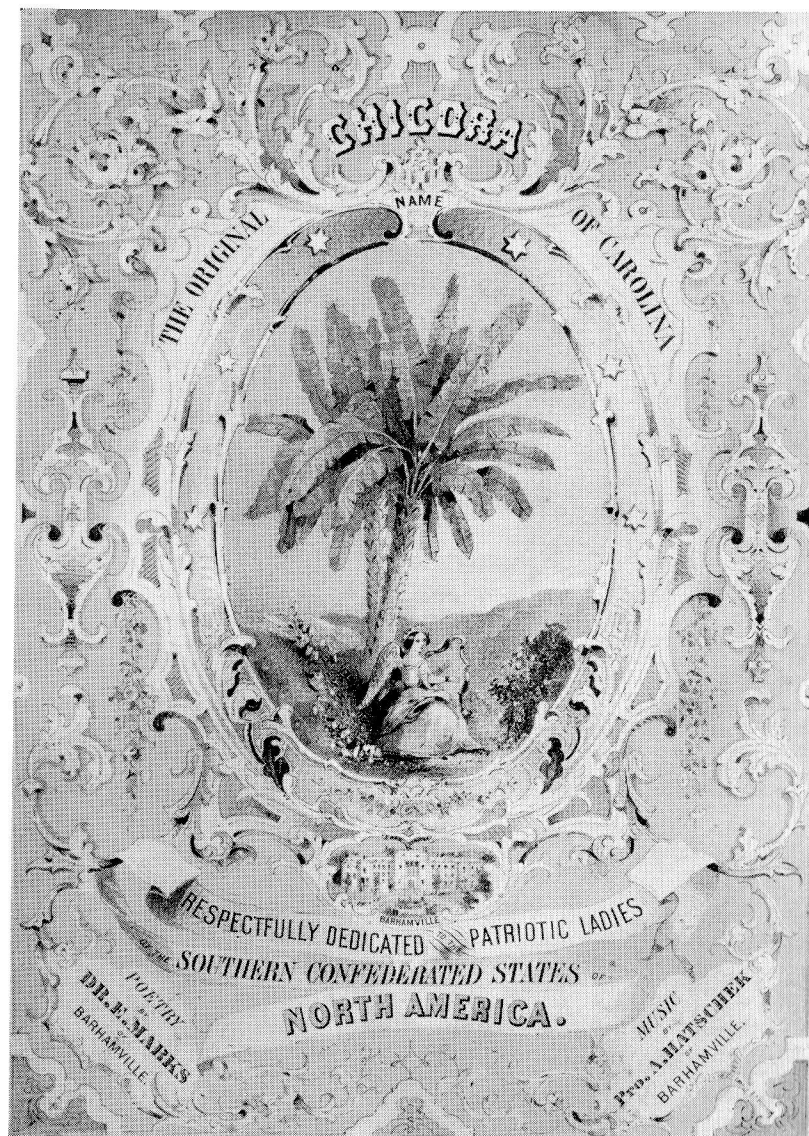
1. Overture "The Fairies Lake" piano at four hands.
C. Mera and M. Párraga
- 2 Grand fantasie sur "Lucia di' Lamermoor" by H. Herz.
M. Párraga
3. "The Morning Glory" Galop di bravoura by M. Párraga
4. "Honors frügel" waltzes by Lanner for Piano at four hands.
Misses S. Thompson-Ancrum.

Second Part.

1. "Andante de Concert" by Schulhoff Miss McAlilley.
2. Grand variations sur "I Puritani" by Herz M. Párraga
3. "Le Départ" Nocturne de Salon by M. Párraga
4. "Le Retour" Valse brillante by M. Párraga
5. Overture of "Semiramis" piano at four hands.
C. Mera-Párraga

To commence at 7 o'clock.

Alexander Hatschek wrote the "Sallie Polka" for his student Sallie C. Fisher in 1858. On the eve of the Civil War he collaborated with Dr. Marks, composing the music for "Chicora, The Original Name of Carolina". It suffices to say that the quality



¹³ Ibid., Program, c. 1855.

of the music is comparable to Dr. Mark's "poetry", of which the fourth of the five stanzas is given below:

Strike—O strike home—for your hearth-stone and altar,
 Mothers and Daughters shall nerve thee to war;
 And where is the craven, whose spirit would falter,
 While waves over Southrons—Chicora, thy Star!
 Lone Star of nations! Chicora, Chicora!
 Hail 'midst the darkness of tyranny's night!

Musically the Institute held firm even when the darkness of tyranny's night descended, for C. C. Mera, erstwhile Barhamville piano teacher, wrote a song published by J. A. Selby in Columbia during the last days of the war entitled "No Surrender". Another Confederate item was composed by Lizzie C. Orchard who was graduated from the Institute in 1858. It bore the title, "Maj. General Hampton's Quickstep" and was "respectfully dedicated to the officers and privates" of Hampton's command. The publishers were Gray and Valory of Columbia.¹⁴

Like Mary McAliley and Lizzie Orchard, Elizabeth Allston's musical experience at Barhamville was rewarding. She remembered her instructor, Angelo Torriani, as "Thoroughly competent, most appreciative of good work" and a teacher for whom "it was a delight to work." She further recalls:

My music had become my great pleasure; and, when I took my first lesson from this charming, appreciative Italian, I felt I was going to have a delightful year at school, whatever the privations might be. Madame assigned me two hours for practice, but very soon I felt that was not enough and begged her to let me have another hour. She said it was impossible; there were only three pianos in the school and I already had more than my share of these three. I still worried her, and at last she said: "If you are willing to get up and practise an hour on the piano in the drawing-room, you may do it; but it will be hard, for it will have to be before the fire is made up." I accepted with many thanks; and all that winter I got up at six, broke the ice in my pitcher to perform hasty ablutions, and putting on my cloak took my candle into the drawing-room, and often with tears rolling down my cheeks practised at that hour!¹⁵

There were other students, however, who lacked Miss Allston's enthusiasm for practice. Cornelia Boyd of Williamsburg

¹⁴ Davis, Barhamville Notes, III, 45.

¹⁵ Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, p. 179-80.

District, reporting dutifully on her musical progress, wrote her parents that her "last piano piece was 'Musidora mazurka' and the last singing piece was 'I wish somebody'd come.'" But toward the end of the year she could not refrain from observing in anticipation of her forthcoming vacation:

Every morning that I have to practice before day I console myself by saying, "Never mind in two weeks I can sleep as late as I wish and not have any one come to wake me by calling Piano."¹⁶

The casual reaction to music of Caroline A. Bacot of Darlington is probably more typical. She writes that "Everybody is trying to improve in music and I among the rest. We will have a concert next Friday evening." A few days later she makes another passing reference to a concert at which "Mary and myself are to play a duett again. Also one at the examination." Serena Bacot wrote a few weeks earlier: "Oh! how I do love flowers music and poetry. I hear some of the sweetest music now."¹⁷

In art classes, according to the "Conspectus" of 1828, students learned "Drawing in pencil, observing the laws of perspective", etching, velvet painting and "Flowers, &c." and they worked with landscapes and the human figure. The *Barhamville Register* of September, 1847, announced that painting in oils had been "added to the list of advantages." At this time the faculty of eleven serving a student body of seventy had an "Instructor in Painting in Oil and Water Colors" and an "Instructress in Drawing in Pencils and Crayons." The *Circular* of 1849-50 itemizes under the heading of "Drawing", a standard text in perspective, "Copying—Pencil and Crayon" and "Sketching from Nature." Painting "In Water and Oil" was also available. The offerings of this department remain much the same thereafter.

Christopher Zimmerman, already mentioned as composer, is known to have been teaching at Barhamville in 1837.¹⁸ His lithograph, "S. E. View of the South-Carolina Female Collegiate Institute", often delicately tinted with water colors, was

¹⁶ SCFCI Papers, December 31, 1857, May 8, [1858?].

¹⁷ Davis, Barhamville Notes, II, 59, 63, 73—transcripts of Bacot letters: Caroline, "May" and "May 13th," 1848; and Serena's, c. March 30, 1848 (headed "St. Marks Convent"). For identification of Caroline's second letter and Serena's note see p. 60 and 74 (references to "pet" and "Serena").

¹⁸ Davis, Barhamville Notes, III, 82 (advertisement in *Charleston Observer*, Oct. 14, 1837).

a treasured memento in many Southern homes. Eugene Dovilliers, whose drawing of Barhamville also was reproduced by lithography, was a more skillful artist. He came to the Institute some time after 1847 and left before 1853, but he evidently achieved an excellent reputation for Dr. Marks says that his "eminent skill and success [. . .] leave nothing to wish for in this Department, whether it be in copying, or in original sketching from natural scenes."¹⁹ During this period, Dovilliers painted a view of the South Carolina College. The few known paintings by Barhamville students even when skilfully done, are interesting only as evidence of the taste of the age.

Incidental to the teaching of the ornamental subjects but equally important were the benefits derived from the association of students with instructors who had a foreign background. Dr. Marks seems to have been aware of the value of his European imports. The catalogues, meticulous in the bestowal of honorifics, use señor, monsieur and madame wherever possible, and newspaper announcements about the college made the most of the bright gems from afar. Besides, due to the periodic disturbances in Europe, they were less costly than their domestic counterparts. It was the feeling that he had the resources of the western world at his disposal that led Dr. Marks, in his September 1847 announcement of new instructional techniques in music and art, to declare smugly. "Our intercourse affords us every facility of centering here all the improvements that are made in either our own country or Europe." Certainly the presence of talented and cultivated foreigners at Barhamville was a factor contributing to the stature of the institution.

Of the departments of languages, music and art it may be safely said that they served their purpose as Dr. Marks summarized it in the *Circular* of 1849-50. With due allowance for the promotional aspects, his statement is a fair picture of aims and attitudes of the ornamental subjects:

The graceful and elegant accomplishments which refine and correct the taste, are particularly attended to. Modern Languages, Music, Painting, Drawing, etc., etc., are sustained by most accomplished teachers; the Institute affording facilities in these departments rarely to be found.

¹⁹ *Circular*, 1849-50.

DAYS THAT WERE REMEMBERED

In the early years of the South Carolina Female Institute, students were not allowed to attend "either private or public assemblies" nor could they visit Columbia except when accompanied "by their Teachers and Directresses, and conveyed in carriages, twice a year." These occasions were the commencement exercises of the South Carolina College and the public ceremonies on Washington's Birthday. As the years passed, however, the regulations became less severe. The school might be pertly referred to by the students as "St. Marks Convent" or "Bar Ville," but centered about the campus were a number of pleasant occasions to break the routine. Tableaux, May Day pageants, dances, Christmas dinners, lectures, concerts, visits from relatives and friends, and packages from home were the things that Barhamville students wrote letters about and Barhamville graduates fondly remembered.¹

The tableau as a form of entertainment is a thing of the past, and it is difficult to take at its face value the statement in a letter from Caroline Bacot of Darlington, to her mother describing a performance at which the students "almost screamed when the curtain was raised. It was so beautiful."² Tableaux were often part of some holiday festivity. "We had a Tableau on Thanksgiving night," Mary H. McAliley of Chester, wrote in 1852, and in a letter to her father Cornelia Boyd of Murrays Ferry described in glowing terms the tableaux during the 1857 Christmas season.³

Akin to the tableaux were the May Day spectacles. It was for one of these occasions that Dr. Marks wrote his graceful masque, "Maia". This pleasant if somewhat thin bit of drama concerns the efforts of fairies, various personifications and assorted creatures from mythology and fiction to find a suitable gift for the Queen of May. Their search interrupted by songs, dances and recitations—is successful when they obtain a tear coursing down the lovely cheek of a maiden which, by some remarkable alchemy, is blended with a ray of starlight to become a precious stone. Dr. Marks has the *Third Fairy* speak these lines:

Here to thee, I now consign
A gem, that shames Golconda's mine;
Issuing from the heart's warm core,
Where love abideth evermore.
Love, the pearl of priceless worth,
Love, the sun that lighteth earth,
Love, that gave existence birth;
All the treasure earth affords,
All the gold the miser hoards,
All the music of the grove,
All the starry hosts above,
All that greets the eye and ear,
Is nought—beside this love-form'd tear.

May Day made use of many talents, and Dr. Marks was by no means the only member of the faculty who contributed to its success. The dancing master and the music teachers were key figures, for there were intricate steps to be executed around the May Pole and songs of praise to be sung for the Queen. Kate Watson, who entered Barhamville in 1858 at the age of 13, recalled that the dress she wore as May Queen was "of white tarleton with a double skirt, and three rows of satin ribbons." It was made by her roommate and "was very pretty, but inexpensive." In the evening there was a dance but the duties of her office required, to her regret, that she could not be an onlooker rather than a participant.⁴

At Barhamville dancing was looked upon with approval as a suitable form of exercise and a means of attaining social grace. The lists of faculty in the catalogues record a succession of dancing teachers, and "Dancing Halls" formed part of the original physical plant. The "mazy dance" of the commencement ball evoked a poetic response in Mary McCord and Sally Scott, and Cornelia Boyd wrote her father that "The girls danced Christmas night."⁵

A Christmas away from home where, as Cornelia Boyd implies, the girls had to dance with each other for want of male partners could have been a bleak affair, but "a splendid dinner" with "Oysters and wine and all kinds of sweet meats" did much to improve the occasion. A bountiful board at Christmas seems to have been a fairly late development, for a former student wrote tartly in 1838 to a friend still at Barhamville that "Mrs. Marks is getting more liberal, she

¹ *Hints*, p. 42-3; above, p. 50, n17.

² *Ibid.*, her "May" letter.

³ SCFCI Papers, Nov. 8, 1852, Dec. 31, 1857.

⁴ Marks, *Poems*, p. 118; I. D. Gaillard, *Pen Pictures* No. 2.

⁵ *Hints*, p. 39; above p. 42; SCFCI Papers, Dec. 31, 1857.

would not give us a Christmas dinner, last term." However, Kate Watson seems to voice the majority opinion when she describes the fare at Barhamville as excellent. "There was dessert every other day and fruit on the in-between days," she recalled. "During the winter months there was turkey with the accessories every Sunday. Nobody could get enough of the batter-cakes, fine rolls, hominy, rice, and rusk on Sunday nights." But boxes of comestibles from home were always welcomed, and Cornelia Boyd, whose Christmas was lightened by a heavy meal, asked that her mother "send me some pound and fruit cake for you can not tell how hungry I get some times", and Caroline Bacot was grateful to her mother "for the eatables [. . .] ham and biscuit are the very things we want more than anything else."⁶

The commencement exercises, held annually in mid-June, afforded a fitting climax to the academic year.⁷ Aside from their importance to those closely involved, they focussed a considerable amount of public attention upon the college. For example, *The Daily Telegraph*, a Columbia newspaper, published an extremely laudatory account by a "Visitor" of "the performances of the fair scholars" in the issue of June 22, 1849. The editors, also had kind words to say, observing that "The Collegiate course of the institute is, in every respect, admirably qualified to train up the future mothers of our State." The account by the "Visitor" which follows, records in the idiom of the times another of Barhamville's memorable occasions.

Perhaps the most accurate picture of the atmosphere which prevailed at Barhamville is this statement on "Social Organization" which appears in the *Circular* of 1849-50:

The pupils constitute members of *one large family*. On all occasions in their intercourse with teachers, and with one another, they conform to the proprieties of social life and exemplify the usages of educated and refined society.

They study in their private rooms, which are commodious, well ventilated and warmed—each having its own fire. During the hours of relaxation, they visit socially the rooms of the Principals and Teachers, and under proper regulations, those also of each other—selecting

their own companions, and thus enjoy an ease and freedom in social intercourses—in short, a *home feeling*, incompatible with promiscuous association in one large room. Morning and evening all unite in *Prayer* and *Song* around one FAMILY ALTAR.

Thus, with the advantages of a public education abroad, are combined the comforts, the social influences and safeguards of a happy home.

THE COMMENCEMENT AT BARHAMVILLE

The Commencement exercises of a literary institution are at all times interesting to a reflective mind, affording much to engage the sympathies, to enlist the kindest feelings of the heart, and to quicken the fancy with materials of earnest thought.

It has fallen to our lot to witness many such scenes, and troop after troop of young and joyous faces, betokening hearts warm with youthful vigor, and swelling full of youth's noblest impulses have passed over the time-honored boards of *our own beloved* "Alma Mater," and we have gazed upon their exit from the friendly walls of that nursing and protecting institution with feelings that we cannot now describe.

Many such scenes have we witnessed, but the scene we were permitted to behold on Wednesday evening last, was new to us, and surrounded with circumstances, which (apart from novelty) must have elicited feelings of admiration and delight. We were permitted to witness a Commencement at Barhamville, and we now feel truly grateful for that permission. (We need not tell any of your readers, Mr. Editor, where and what Barhamville is.) The scene was new to us, and we presume to many of the audience, but we venture the opinion all who were there will never neglect an opportunity of observing a recurrence of the interesting ceremony.

The earlier part of the evening was devoted to Music, instrumental and vocal, in which most of the fair pupils participated; and without any desire to repeat the hackneyed technicalities of criticism, we can at least express the deep-felt satisfaction we enjoyed, not only in the music in itself, but in the satisfactory evidence thus afforded, that the advantages of the institution had been so fully and correctly appreciated. Hard must have been the heart that could have

⁶ Davis, Barhamville notes, II, 51, 62; SCFCI Papers, Dec. 31, 1857; for Kate Watson, see n⁴.

⁷ Mary Jane Macfie was one of the eight graduates of 1850 and her gold star medal had eight points (F. W. McMaster Papers); compare the 1859 star, p. 67.

remained unmoved, while a gazing on that "troop of shining ones," and listening to the notes of soft, and witching harmony that came sweetly blended as from *hearts* that throbbed and beat in common.

Original essays were then read by the members of the Graduating Class—some of which from our position we could not hear very distinctly. Judging, however, from the interest and attention manifested by those nearer to the fair readers, we decided that *not one* of them was *too* long.

Some however, were heard and listened to with but one feeling,—approbation and delight. The subjects generally were well selected and appropriate, and the style showed that the fair writers had been well exercised in the practice of composition. Nothing seemed to be merely gotten up elaborately for the occasion, but it was evident that the worthy professor of Belles Lettres had not been behind his colleagues in the department of Music, in fidelity and thoroughness of instruction.

The subject of course forbids minute details of *criticism* even the most approving—but as our town had a fair representative on the floor, we may be allowed to express—what all present did *express* at the time, and all we have heard have repeated since—that is, unreserved and unqualified admiration and approbation of the appropriateness of the theme ("Our Institutions")—the happy adaptation of the essay to that subject, the enunciation that exhibited so gracefully what the attentive listener might have observed unaided, the natural and unpretending eloquence of the essay.

In conclusion, Mr. Editor, there was but one thing we did *not* like,—there was not as large an audience as should have been *there*. There was a large audience it is true, but many more should have been there. The beauty, and fashion, and learning of the State crowd to our College Commencements,⁸ and the complaint is the College Chapel is too small, and does not the State owe something to one who, with no State patronage, by private enterprize alone, has established an institution of such incalculable benefit. We trust that its retired seclusion may not lead to a forgetfulness of its claims—that the citizens of the town at least will manifest their interest on all suitable

⁸ The South Carolina College.

occasions, assured of being amply repaid for their attendance. If the institution needed any additional recommendations, we would but refer to the fair graduates of the late term. May that life on which they now enter be to them as happy, as useful, and as nobly employed, as the memory of that evening shall long be dearly cherished by many a

VISITOR.

THE LAST DAYS OF BARHAMVILLE

At the outbreak of the Civil War Dr. Marks was seventy years of age, and Mrs. Marks only three years younger; they had more than earned retirement. It is not surprising that in June, 1862, they leased Barhamville to Madame Acelie Togno who had been conducting a fashionable girls' school in Charleston.¹

The war imposed heavy burdens. Elizabeth Allston, a student in 1862 and 1863, remembered the pitchers of water and "trays of very dry corn dodgers" which came to be their supper. The menu suffered but the quality of the instruction did not.² Again in July, 1863, Madame Togno announced the September opening of her school, but a year later she relinquished Barhamville to a hardier spirit, Sophie Sosnowski.

Madame Sosnowski, as she was usually known, was the daughter of Christian Wentz, court physician to the Grand Duke of Baden. She was born in Pforzheim, Baden, in 1809, and married Josef Stanislaus Sosnowski, a native of Poland and a kinsman of Czar Nicholas I. Josef Sosnowski was exiled for his part in an uprising against Russia. In ill health as a result of wounds, he made his way to Baden where he was treated by Dr. Wentz, met and in 1833 married Sophie, and shortly thereafter emigrated with his bride to America. Josef, whose health remained poor, died in 1845 and Sophie turned to teaching as a means of supporting her son and two daughters.³

Like Julia Pierpont Marks, Madame Sosnowski had an association with Emma Willard. After teaching for a short time in the Troy school she joined the staff of Madame DuPre in Charleston, going thence to Bishop Stephen Elliott's school at Montpellier, in Georgia.⁴ In his *Circular* for 1856-57 Dr.

¹ *Daily Southern Guardian*, June 18, 1862; July 11, 1863. Madame Togno maintained the Barhamville tradition of careful reports to parents (see *Hints*, p. 48). Her letter of Feb. 16, 1863 to Dr. W. S. Boyd, Murrys Ferry, about the progress of his two daughters is a model of precise but sympathetic reporting (SCFCI Papers).

² Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, p. 176, 178.

³ Obituaries of Madame Sosnowski and of her daughter, Caroline, *Athens* [Ga.] *Banner*, July 19, 1899, Jan. 30, 1921; copy of notes by Caroline Sosnowski in possession (1946) of Mrs. J. C. Seabrook (Sosnowski-Schaller Papers).

⁴ E. L. Pennington, "Stephen Elliott, First Bishop of Georgia" (*Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Sept. 1888); Ida Schaller Peacock, "Caroline Sosnowski" (*Athens Banner*, Jan. 20, 1921—Sosnowski-Schaller Papers). Dr. Marks' advertisement in the *Southern Chronicle* (Columbia), October 8, and 15, 1845, lists "Mde S. Sosnowski" for German and Assistant Instructress in French, and also for

Marks lists her as a teacher of "German Language, Vocal and Instrumental Music". Her daughter, Sophia A., also appears on the faculty roster. The following year her daughter Caroline is listed as a teacher in the primary department.⁵

In December, 1860, however, Madame Sosnowski announced that the "exercises of her school" would resume on January 2nd; in August following she advertised it as her "Boarding and Day School", but the next year it was "Mad. Sosnowski's Female Institute, Columbia, S. C." When Madame Togno gave up her two-year venture at Barhamville, Madame Sosnowski moved her school there retaining its name, and five months later, with her wonted courage and dignity presided over the dramatic and tragic end of Barhamville's school history.⁶

After the close of Barhamville Madame Sosnowski moved to Athens, Georgia, where she was principal first of Lucy Cobb Institute, then, and for many years, of the Home School. She died in July, 1899.⁷

The manuscript from which the portions below are printed is in the hand of Madame Sosnowski, and is signed by her. Some overlapping and repetition and her signed endorsement: "These accounts were written in great haste, and under the influence of much fatigue." indicate that she had written two papers, contemporary or nearly so with the burning, and about ten years later copied from them this manuscript—making additions at the time—for publication. On some details and on the schedule of events Madame's memory was obviously vague, and her state of mind strongly colored her narrative, but, making due allowances for this, the account remains an effective and interesting record of incidents and reactions during the Federal occupation. The narrative has been printed twice⁸ but the need of additional editing and the place of Madame and her school in the history of Barhamville make it proper to print portions of it here.

Music Instrumental and Vocal. Her name has been found in no succeeding advertisement or catalogue until that of 1856-1857, and from the sketch of her daughter Caroline ("Callie"), written by Madame's granddaughter, Mrs. Peacock, it is to be inferred that she did not come to Barhamville at this time. See also letters to Madame Sosnowski July 31, 1845, Oct. 31, 1851, Sept. 22, Nov. 23, 1853 (Sosnowski-Schaller Papers).

⁵ Davis, *Barhamville Notes*, I, 132.

⁶ *Tri-Weekly Southern Guardian* (Columbia), Dec. 14, 1860, Aug. 8, 1861; *Daily Southern Guardian*, Sept. 8, 1862 (this was repeated Feb. 15 and Sept. 15, 1863, Sept. 22, 1864).

⁷ At midnight of July 17-18, 1899 (*Athens Banner*, July 19, 1899).

⁸ The manuscript is in the Sosnowski-Schaller Papers; it was published in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1924), 195-214; and the *Columbia Record*, June 24, July 8, 15, 1948. For the approximate date of the manuscript, see n17 below.

"BURNING OF COLUMBIA, SO. CAROLINA"⁹

Many dear friends have insisted [*on*] my giving a narration of that sad event the burning of that sweet city, the Capital of South Carolina, by General Sherman.

In introducing my subject I must state that we occupied at that eventful crisis, the beautiful buildings, known as Barhamville, for years an Institution of learning, where the daughters of the South received a polished and thorough education. The venerable Director Dr. Marks, and his lady feeling the need of repose, placed the buildings in our hands, to which we moved from Columbia with our boarding pupils. We had around us the daughters of many families of the Southern States; the loveliest flowers that could adorn a Nation, as well as the firesides of cultivated homes.

The scouts of General Hampton giving information that General Sherman undoubtedly aimed at Columbia, the question became very serious how to protect the dear young beings placed under our charge, and we resolved to [*send*] them with a few exceptions to North Carolina. [...]¹⁰

Sherman had now taken his position opposite Columbia, and the shelling, and cannonading were incessant. Like a man who catches at any appearance of help, we followed the advice of Mr. Strawinski, to have a free Mason's flag, very hastily manufactured on the front door, and rear passages; and they received soon after the curses of several troops of soldiers, saying, that but for those "rags" the house would be burned to ashes at any moment. [...]

How pre-arranged the burning of Columbia must have been, was proved by the scattering of Sherman's soldiers in every direction. These soldiers were led by *Negroes*, who not only guided them, but by whom they must have been already informed of the residences of "prominent rebels." The eagerness and confidence by which these men who called themselves soldiers were animated, was astonishing. They flew about inquiring, "is this the house of Mr. Rhett?", pointing to the right

⁹ Madame Sosnowski followed this title with: "A Thrilling Faithful and Graphic Description of a National Crisis", a phrase which she later revised.

Corrections, when needed for clarity, of obvious mistakes made by Madame Sosnowski in copying her manuscript, have been put in brackets, some paragraphs have been combined, and some repetitions or trivial portions omitted.

¹⁰ The four pages of the manuscript here omitted narrate the departure of the students, the hiding of food in the attic, and the entrusting of silver to one of the Negro servants.

direction; or, is that the dwelling of Mr. Middleton? also indicating exactly the locality, with many other like questions.¹¹

It was surprising to see the readiness with which these incendiaries succeeded in their work of destruction. They had hardly passed out of sight, when columns of smoke and flames rose to bring the sad news that another home had been sacrificed to the demon of malice and arrogance. It was the middle of the day, which witnessed the Federal entrance into it, when Columbia was already enveloped in an overshadowing cloud of smoke, and the flames were already rising like columns of fire from a volcano. Although we lived over one mile from that city, yet from the roof of the Barhamville building the whole terrible spectacle, which grew more harrowing as the night set in, the whole town of Columbia could be plainly, and distinctly described.

Through the exertions of Dr. Marks the proprietor of Barhamville, who had remained in the town, guards were procured, who during the day barely succeeded in protecting us from the many attempts of the soldiery to rifle and burn the Female college. Our protectors proving of unequal temperament, and dispositions as soldiers—only one may be said to have been active in the discharge of his duty. [...]¹²

Now that corrupted mass, inflamed by liquors, and every other excess, moved towards our home, Barhamville. There were about eighty men. They were led by a very tall Negro, one of those towering individuals, one meets some time. He held in one hand a torch, in the other a large cowhide, and he demanded of me to examine the basement, partly open, as they knew Captain A's lady had hidden some valuables here. The

¹¹ This evidently refers to sand-hill homes of Columbians—see Jane K. Simons, *A Guide to Columbia*, . . . Columbia, 1939, p. 37. W. G. Simms, in his *Sack and Destruction of Columbia* (Columbia, 1865), p. 17, notes that "Almost at the same time" of the first fires in the evening in the city, seven houses on "the Eastern outskirts" were fired, among them the home of J. U. Adams ("Capt. James U. Adams"—p. 32-3), besides "many others."

¹² General Sherman—despite the abundant evidence, cited by himself, of the temper of the army—had given no order for protection of life or property in the city, merely ordering General O. O. Howard, commanding the Right Wing (the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps) to "destroy public buildings, railroad property, manufacturing and machine shops", and to "spare libraries, asylums and private dwellings" (*Official Records*, ser. I, XLVII, pt. II, 444). Colonel G. A. Stone's brigade, which was the Third of the First Division of the Fifteenth Corps, was the first to cross the river and was the occupation force during the day of the 17th. "In a number of cases, the guards provided for the citizens were among the most active plunderers" (Simms, *Sack and Destruction*, p. 16). The three pages of the manuscript here omitted note the discovery that the Sosnowski family and the faithful guard had had a mutual friend in the person of a deceased Knoxville minister, and narrate the plundering and burning of the house of Captain Adams—with the remark that the scenes enacted there in connection with the Negro women servants "are not fit for pen to dwell upon."

ladies being too much frightened, one of my daughters could come to my assistance. The other had to guard the front door of the building, whilst some of the ladies endeavoured to wake up the guards, who had gone to sleep.

This attempt we resisted, by what power I do not now understand, for we were alone in that crowd of, shall I say men, or furious beasts? until our Tennesseean friend came to our assistance. The other guards pretended to be still asleep. It was some time before that rabble could be made to understand that there was a federal soldier present; only after he struck his bayonet violently upon the ground threatening to report them for contempt of military orders, they slunk away.

Still party, after party came upon the grounds, looking with malicious eyes upon the large building so tempting to their cupidity. Towards two o'clock in the morning we heard the blow of axes, and seeing lights in the direction of our stables a considerable distance from the main building, I hastened to the spot. Under ordinary circumstances such an undertaking would have caused great hesitation of mind; but we were aroused to such a degree of energy, and indignation, that we had become unmindful of our own safety. I found at the stables more than twenty men with torches, axes, and their bayonets. They were partly intoxicated, and looked fagged out after their day's work of destruction. When I appeared they looked with astonishment at the coming of a single lady, and really seemed to be ashamed of themselves, as they well might be. I asked them, "what are you, thieves or soldiers?" and told them furthermore, that every person of honor, must consider them a disgrace to the military profession;—although I felt in my heart, that they had not the slightest conception of such a sentiment. I still remember with considerable amusement the attitude of that crowd, and the reply of the chief leader: Yes Ma'm Yes-Ma'm to all I said. When our Tennesseean came to my assistance, the axes of the assailants were already at rest. [...]

During Saturday, and Sunday, the Charlotte Railroad was broken up, and we were continually molested. Drunken and infuriated soldiers, some with sabre in hand, endeavored to open the side doors. Another hour brought a party of soldiers who were inclined to harangue us on political questions, one among them not very fanatical on the Negro question, made a

regular stump speech, in which he endeavored to demonstrate that this country was destined only for the white man, and the Indian, as well as the Negro had to be, or in consequence of events would be exterminated. Further he expressed his wish, to have the entire Negro race on an immense platform, and powder sufficient, to blow them all to atoms! This latter remark was received with repeated cheers, by these companions in Arms.

Like the shifting scenes in a Panorama, the time passed, and there appeared a party of German soldiers. They evidently came on a forager's expedition, and they like the rest, expected to enter the house. Their political codes were quite at variance. Some were union men, others Democrats; these latter expressed themselves ready [*really?*] for the South, if the aim of the war was the emancipation of the Negro. One young man just imported from Saxony expressed the opinion that we would soon have another Revolution, to which his companions agreed; to this interesting information we, of course made no reply, but I took the liberty to remark, that I considered it the height of folly for any European to fight on the side of the Nord. That party were men of intelligence and considerable refinement, and to our relief their captain ordered them, or one of them with the command, that these ladies should not be molested.

We were soon contending with a half drunken set of men, at the main entrance of the building using arguments and displaying firmness in preventing them from entering the house when our faithful Shepherd-dog Cora was seen running through the house, and testified by whining, and anxious manner there must be something wrong in the house. To our astonishment we found that the incendiaries had thrown burning pines on the rear piazza, and we felt that these incendiaries would compel us to leave our home to the malice of these reckless men.

These marauders also threatened to kill the cook if you would not tell them where they could find the valuables. Others went into the houses of the poor Negroes, and tore their bundles, even broke up boxes, and thus unfortunately our box with silver and many old relics, fell into the hands of these Vandals. Towards evening there arrived directly from Columbia a number of officers and seeing one of them wearing a Ma-

sonic scarf pin, I told him being a Masonic widow, I held it to be his duty to protect us from the Marauders of his army. He seemed to hesitate, but having for such emergency Mr. Sosnowski's papers in hand, establishing his former connection with the American lodge, I placed them in his hands, again demanding protection.

The party, however left without giving us a glimmer of hope, and we looked with terror upon the declining day, when to joy and relief a young gentleman came on back telling us, that a squad of men would arrive, and that we should not be molested that night. Words could not express our relief, and gratitude. The young man evidently of refinement received with great satisfaction the demonstration of relief our little party expressed. [...]

With the decline [*approach*] of day, the reveille called our guards away; and we were reminded by the remarks of passing soldiers that the house was still in danger. I determined therefore to walk to Columbia Sunday morning at an early hour to obtain a guard; and soon after breakfast, accompanied by a few servants, I left Barhamville. The appearance of the citizens was despondent, and weary. [...] The outer gate of Genl. Prestons house was guarded by a soldier, with the United States flag. At my question, if Genl. Blair, or Genl. Howard was in, the man could not give to me a satisfying answer. [...] ¹³ Seeing no prospect of attaining what I came for, I left the place; and now advancing through

¹³ The residence of General John S. Preston (Simons, *Guide to Columbia*, p. 41). (For Sherman's headquarters, see *ibid.*, p. 54.) Madame Sosnowski's trip to Columbia and her calls at the several headquarters indicate that she knew of the orders of the 18th to prevent further destruction of the city and the stern enforcement of those orders. Colonel Stone reported on the 19th the drunkenness of "a great number" of his men caused by "hundreds of negroes who swarmed the streets on the approach of the troops and gave them all kinds of liquors" (*Official Records*, ser. I, XLVII, pt. I, 263-5). His division commander, Major-General C. R. Woods, in his report on the 17th on the disorders, mentioned only the giving of liquor to the troops "by citizens of every grade" and the roaming of the streets that night by the "countless villains of every command" (*ibid.*, II, 457). Stone's brigade was relieved that night by the First, under Brigadier-General W. B. Woods, who later reported that his brigade that night arrested 136 soldiers from the Fifteenth Corps and 260 from the Seventeenth, but it was not until Brigadier-General J. M. Oliver's Third Brigade of Major-General W. B. Hazen's division of the Fifteenth Corps was ordered into the town at three or four o'clock the morning of the 18th that order was restored, in the course of which Oliver's troops killed 2, wounded 30, and arrested 370. (*ibid.*, II, 457, 476, I, 310). On the 18th General Howard, in his Special Field Orders No. 42, noting that "certain lawless and evil-disposed soldiers of this command have threatened to destroy the remainder of this city with fire," gave directions to Major-General F. P. Blair, commanding the Seventeenth Corps, and to General W. B. Woods for the protection of the portions of the city northeast and southwest of Taylor Street, respectively; they were ordered "to prevent at all cost, even to taking the life of any refractory soldier, a recurrence of the horrors of last night." (*ibid.*, II, 475).

The lack of protection against the forays at Barhamville during the day of the 18th was evidently due to the distance of the institution from the town.

the city, the real work of destruction met my eyes. It was a sadening sight to see that lovely city utterly in ruin. [...]

The head-quarters of General Wood being at the old family residence of Genl. Greene, we had only a few steps to reach it. We found the General surrounded by a motly crowd. Owing to some mistake of my friend the Rev. Mr. Walker, my object of obtaining a guard was defeated.¹⁴ Although in manner the general was much of a gentleman; I was sorry to learn afterwards that he stripped the old mansion of its paintings, and many other valuables.

Unsuccessful so far, in obtaining a guard, I resolved to go to Genl Sherman's headquarters. [...] On being informed that Genl Sherman was in I mounted the steps, and found that gentleman giving directions to a soldier. My friend the Rev. Mr. Walker having left me, I introduced myself, and he politely led me in the apartment where already a number of persons had assembled. I stated to him my errand, which had so far been unsuccessful—the troubles we had already passed through, at the same time I expressed my surprise, even more my indignation, at the course the Army had pursued towards a conquered, unresisting, and surrendering City. I told him further, that previous to the surrender of the City of Columbia, I had always expressed the opinion, that we had nothing to fear, except the accidents of war to which tho, I did not consider the deliberate burning of a city [*belonged*], that in a civilized country battles would be fought, but private property, and females would be protected, but instead of this, a warfare was waged, which would make it a disgrace to our present history.

He showed great temper and said, "What do you mean by that Madam?" to which I merely replied, that I meant exactly what I had said. He then spoke in strong terms of the responsibility of Columbia, of South Carolina, of the sufferings by Secessions; indeed as he only advocated one side of the question, he spoke well. In conclusion he said, You have suffered much already, but if I have to come back again!—leaving his threat unfinished.¹⁵

¹⁴ Rev. C. Bruce Walker is the only Rev. Walker listed in Columbia city directories of 1859 or 1860.

¹⁵ In this remarkable colloquy, as reported by Madame Sosnowski, there was no apparent question that the destruction was, as indicated in the reports of the officers quoted above, the work of soldiers—evidently only a fraction of the 30,000 composing

To my repeated requests for a guard General Sherman assured me there would be no need, as he expected to leave the following morning, and therefore required the whole Army to be at their posts. At this I rose, saying that I would not detain him any longer. He escorted me to the steps. [...] I again entered Gen. Preston's residence, the headquarters of Genl. Howard. At length a young officer promised to send out a guard, but none came. My mission had been totally fruitless.

With the advancing night however, we found some unexpected protection, namely, a number of Irishmen; a part of those of Sherman's troops, he would not allow to enter Columbia; and this, as the men assured us, was to prevent them from protecting Roman Catholic Property.¹⁶ The men had lost their way, and fearing to fall into an ambush, they entreated us not to expose them to danger. This unexpected arrival was a great relief, and we assured them of perfect safety. We requested our faithful friend and house-keeper Hanna to give them as substantial a supper as the stores permitted. The accounts of these men were really interesting, and as in such uncommon scenes of life the susceptibility of men finds ample scope, there was a declaration of love, of love at first sight, before supper was over, the subject of which was Hannah our faithful friend. Towards eleven we heard yells from the direction of Columbia; and through the woods advanced a crowd of Soldiers towards our residence. We immediately called our new friends to our assistance. This startled the marauders, and they gradually slunk back into the shades of the forrest.

This was the end of our dangers from Sherman's troops. We owed our safety at last to these warm hearted Irishmen, and

the Right-Wing—and the indignation of Howard and of some of his subordinates was directed against them. But Sherman's attitude obviously posed a problem for his officers, and a revision of statements about the responsibility for the sack of the city had already begun. (*Official Records*, ser. I, XLVII, pt. I, 265); C. R. Woods, on the 21st, added "the villains [...] improperly freed from [...] the town prison" (*ibid.*, I, 243); W. B. Woods, Mar. 26th, said that the fire "was first set by the negro inhabitants" (I, p. 252); Major-General J. A. Logan, commanding the Fifteenth Corps, on Mar. 31st declared that "citizens" had crazed the men with liquor (I, 227). Howard himself, in his report of April 1st, ascribed it to some escaped prisoners, convicts [...] army followers, and drunken soldiers" and declared "that the rebels, who [...] took no reasonable precautions to prevent the destruction of Columbia, are responsible for the suffering of the people." (P. 199). But the climax of these afterthoughts was supplied by General Sherman himself who in his report of April 4th charged it to General Hampton (I, 22). It should be noted incidentally that all the Federal prisoners in Columbia were officers, and that in their transfer to Charlotte by the Confederate authorities, prior to the Federal occupation, only 144 escaped (*ibid.*, ser. II, VIII, 449, 453).

¹⁶ "The Irish Catholic troops, it appears" were kept on the other side of the river (Simms, *Sack and Destruction*, p. 14).

I think now, without them our home would have shared that night all the terror, the fate of the residences for miles around us. [...] ¹⁷

S. SOSNOWSKI

¹⁷ There follows remarks on the destruction by Sherman's army and the post-war government of South Carolina by force and Negro vote.



INDEX

- Abbeville, 21-3
 Abbeville District, 23
 Adams, James U., 61
 Adams, Sallie, 20
 Adams, Sylvia G., student, 20
 Aiken, 23
 Alabama, 21, 22, 28
 Allston, Elizabeth W., on study of French at the Institute, 45; student, 49
 Ancrum, Mary D., student, 18, 20, 48
Appletons' Cyclopaedia, 39
 Athens, Ga., 59
 Augusta, Ga., iv
 Autauga, Ala., 22

 Bacot, Caroline A., student, 50, 52, 54
 Bacot, Serena, student, 50
 Baltimore, Md., 47
 Barhamville, 21-3, 53, 54
Barhamville Register, 36, 45, 50; significance of, 39, 40-1
 Barnes, Mary L., student, 21
 Barnwell, 23
 Bates, Ella E., student, 21
 Bates, Emma L., student, 20
 Beaufort, 22
 Bellamy, Mary E., student, 36, 41
 Blair, Gen. F. P., 64
 Bluxome, Serena, Institute faculty, 46
 Boatwright, Laura, 32; student, 18, 20
 Boatwright, Sallie A., student, 20
 Bollinger, Margary A., student, 41
 Bookter, Anna M., student, 20
 Boone, Jane H., student, 20
 Boyd, Cornelia, student, 49-50, 52-4; schedule at the Institute, 30
 Boyd, Mary E., student, 20
 Boyd, Dr. W. S., 30, 58
 Briggs, Ann R., student, 20
 Brown, Mary L., student, 18, 20
 Browne, M. Josephine, student, 21
 Burbidge, Mary Ann, student, 20

 Cahawba, Ala., 21
 Camden, 20, 22, 23, 48
 Campbell, Sallie M., student, 21
Carolina Times, Daily (Columbia), editor of, on Institute, 17
 Cater, Eliza, Directress of Institute, 15
 Charleston, iii, 21-3, 33, 58
 Chamberlin, Edwina, iii
 Charlotte, N. C., 34

 Chatham, Mary J., student, 21
 Chesterville (Chester), 22, 30, 32, 52
 Clarke, Caroline N., student, 21
 Clarke, Mary G., student, 21
 Coggeshall, Caroline M., student, 21
 Cokesbury, 20, 21
 College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, 38
 Columbia, iii, 14, 20-2, 24, 38, 47, 49; burning of, 59-67
Columbia Daily Telegraph, 54
 Columbia Female Academy, 12, 24, 38, 44; Dr. Marks as principal, iv, 12; Misses Reynolds teachers of, 24; Dr. Marks' textbook for, 38; J. La Taste on staff of, 44
 Columbia "Medical Board", 38
 Connecticut, iv
 Cowper, William, 4; *The Task*, 36
 Cunningham, Elizabeth, student, 21

 Darby, J., Institute faculty, 40
 Darlington, 21-3, 50, 52
 Darlington District, 22
 Davidson, James Wood, *Living Writers of the South*, 39
 Dawes, M. M. Sherwood, Institute faculty, 44
 Desel, Caroline M., student, 21
 Deveau, Catherine C., student, 21
 Dillard, Eliza E., student, 21
 Dovilliers, Eugene, artist, Institute faculty, 51
 Dubose, Clara J., student, 21
 Durant, Caroline M., student, 21
 Durant, M. Elizabeth, student, 21
 Durant, S. Olivia, student, 21
 Duyckinck, Evert and George, 39

 Edgefield, 21-3
 Edgefield District, 23
 Edisto Island, 22-3, 34
 Education of women, 36; debated, 1; Dr. Marks on, 1-11; Southern prejudice against, 28-9
 Elliott, Bishop Stephen, his school at Montpelier, Ga., 58
 Elmore, Grace B., student, 21
 England, 44
 English, Lizzie D., student, 21
 Euphradian Society, South Carolina College, 1

 Farrow, Julia A., student, 21
 Ferguson, Amanda J., student, 21
 Ferguson, Amelia N., student, 21

- Fleming, Elizabeth J., student, 21
 Flinn, Ellen L., student, 21
 Flud, Jane J., student, 21
 Flud, Matilda M., student, 21
 Fox, Mary Jane, student, 21
 Fraser, Hannah A., student, 18, 21
 Fraser, Louisa M., student, 21
 Fraser, Vermille V., student, 21
 Freemasonry, Mme. Sosnowski's use of, 60, 63-4
- Gary, Victoria Ann, student, 21
 Georgetown, 22
 Georgetown District, 45
 Georgia, iv, 21, 22, 28, 32, 59
 Germans in Sherman's army, 63
 Gordon, Agnes, Institute faculty, 27, 32
 Gray and Valory, 49
 Green, Eliza Harriet, student, 21
 Green, Emma L., student, 18, 21
- Hampton, Gen. Wade III, 49, 60, 66
 Hane, Henrietta M., student, 21
 Harlee, Louisa Jane, student, 21
 Harlee, Sallie E., student, 21
 Hart, Julia, student, 21
 Harwinton, Conn., iv
 Hatschek, Alexander, music composition of, 48
 Hazen, Gen. W. B., 64
 Henly, Mary E., student, 21
 Herz, Henri, 48
Hints on Female Education—see Marks, Elias
 Home School, Athens, Ga., 59
 Houston, 23
 Howard, Gen. O. O., burning of Columbia, 61, 64, 66
 Hunter, Mary R., student, 21
- Incho, Wilhelm, music composition of, 46-7
 Irby, Eliza W., student, 18, 21
 Irish soldiers in Sherman's army, 66-7
- James, Robert W., Sr., 45
 Jones, M. Elizabeth, student, 18, 21
 Jones, Margaret C., student, 22
 Kames, Henry, *Elements of Criticism*, 37
- Kershaw, 22
 Kilgore, Charlotte K., student, 22
 Kirk, Floride M., student, 18, 22
 Knoxville, Tenn., 61
- Lancaster, 21, 23
 La Taste, J., Institute faculty, 15, 44; Columbia Female Academy, 44
- La Taste, J. Lucien, Institute Faculty, 15, 44
 Latta, Ann R., student, 22
 Latta, Margaret M., student, 22
 Lattimer, E. Madeline, student, 22
 Laurens, 21, 23
 Laurens District, 21
 Leitner, Margaret J., student, 18, 22
 Leslie, Maria, 15
 Lexington, 21
 Liberty Hill, 20, 22, 23, 48
 Louisiana, 28
 Lucy Cobb Institute, Athens, Ga., 59
 Lyles, Mary C., student, 22
 Lyles, Sallie E., student, 22
- McAliley, Mary H., student, 18, 22, 47-8, 49, 52; letters home, 30-5
 McAliley, Samuel, 30-5
 McCall, Ann E., student, 22
 McCall, Margaret L., student, 22
 McCaw, Fannie M., student, 22
 McCaw, Julia C., student, 22
 McConnel, Amanda, student, 18, 22
 McCord, Mary, student, 42, 53
 McCown, Hester S., student, 22
 McCown, Louisa S., student, 22
 McCown, Margaret S., student, 22
 McCown, Martha E., student, 22
 McCracken, Mary A., student, 22
 McCullough, Sally, student, 46
 Macfie, Catherine A., 31-2, 54
 Macfie, Mary Jane, student, 41
 McIver, Fannie P., student, 34
 McKelvey, Elizabeth S., student, 22
 McKie, Mary A., student, 22
 McLure, Mary C., student, 18, 22, 32, 34
 Madison, Fla., 23
 Manget, Felice, Institute faculty, 44
 Manget, Victor H., Institute faculty, 44, 45
 Marion, 21, 22
 Marion District, 24, 25, 28
 Marks, Edward, iii
 Marks, Elias, 33, 35, 44, 45, 46, 51; sketch of, iii-iv; *Hints on Female Education*, 1-11, 36; announces the Institute, 12-23; as host, 25-8; on letter writing, 30; lectures in the Institute, 36; writings, 38-9, 48-9, 52-3; retirement, 58, 60; procures guards for the Institute, 61
 Marks, Frederick, 47
 Marks, Humphrey, iii
 Marks, Jane Barham, iv
 Marks, Julia Pierpont (Mrs. Elias), 25-6, 53-4, 58; as Princi-

- pal of the Institute, 28, 32; retirement, 58, 60
 Marks, Rebecca, 47
 Means, Claudia S., student, 22
 Mera, Carlos (C. C.), Institute faculty, 44, 48; song composed by, 49
 Mikell, Sarah E., student, 22, 34
 Miller, Benjamin S., Institute faculty, 28, 35, 45
 Milling, Isabella, student, 18, 22
 Mississippi, 28
 Montpellier, Ga., 58
 Murrays Ferry, 52
 Myers, Rebecca A., student, 22
- Neely, John, 35
 Neely, Louisa L., student, 18, 22, 32, 34, 35
 Negroes, burning of Columbia, 60, 61, 66; Federal soldiers on emancipation, 62-3
 New Orleans, La., 47
 New York, iii, iv, 21, 28, 35, 38, 47, 58
 New York Medical College, iii
 Newberry, 23
 Newnan, Ga., 21
 Nicholas I, Czar, 58
 North Carolina, 34, 36, 41, 60
- O'Bryan, Victoria V., student, 22
 Oliver, Gen. J. M., 64
 Orchard, Elizabeth C. A., student, 22; music composition of, 49
 Orchard, William H., Institute faculty, 46
 Owens, Mary H., student, 22
 Oxford, N. Y., 28
- Parades, Demetrio, Institute faculty, 44, 45
 Párraga, Manuel M., 44-5, 47-8, Institute faculty, 44-5; music compositions of, 47-8
 Patterson, Jane C., student, 22
 Patterson, Rebecca L., student, 22
 Pforzheim, Baden, 58
 Phifer, Sallie S., student, 34
 Pineville, 21, 22
 Pitts, Sarah J., student, 22
 Plattsburgh, N. Y., iii
 Poland, 58
 Porcher, Jessie L., student, 22
 Porcher, Mary S., student, 22
 Preston, Gen. John S., 64, 65
- Quigley, Jane A., student, 22
- Rembert, Addie M., student, 22
 Rembert, Sallie A., student, 22
 Reynolds, Jane, teacher, Columbia Female Academy, 24
- Reynolds, Sophia M., student, 18, 22, 24; sketch of Barhamville, 24-9; teacher, 24
 Richardson, Sallie S., student, 23
 Richland District, 20, 23
 Robinson, Mary E., student, 23
 Rogers, Mary E., student, 18, 23
 Rogers, Meta R., student, 23
 Roman Catholics, 66
 Rowe, Julia L., student, 23
 Ruff, Mary A., student, 23
- St. Matthews, 23
 Salem, 45
 Savannah, Ga., 22, 32
 Scott, Sally, student, 42, 53
 Seay, Cecelia N., student, 23
 Sherman, Gen. W. T., burning of Columbia, 60-7; colloquy with Mme. Sosnowski, 65
 Siegling, John, publisher of music, 47
- Simms, William Gilmore, 39
 Sims, Gertrude L., student, 23
 Sinclair, Mary, student, 23
 Smith, Lucy J., student, 23
 Society Hill, 34
 Sosnowski, Caroline, 58, 59
 Sosnowski, Josef Stanislaus, 58, 64
 Sosnowski, Sophia (Sophie), Institute faculty, 44; sketch of, 58-9; her Institute, 59-67; Lucy Cobb Institute and Home School, 59; her account of burning of Columbia, 59-67
 Sosnowski, Sophia A. (daughter of Sophia), Institute faculty, 59
 South Carolina, women's colleges in, iv; reconstruction of, 67
 South Carolina College, 1, 14, 52, 55
 South Carolina Female Collegiate Institute, significance of, iv-v; announced, 15-6; faculty, 15, 27-8, 36; curriculum, 15-6, 18-20, 36; rates, 15-6; catalogues, 17-23; students, 17-23; schedule and classroom methods, 27, 31, 34; food, 31, 53-4; tableaux and entertainments, 32, 39, 52-4; Christmas at, 33, 52-4; rules, 35, 52; literature and literary studies, 36-43, 56; "ornamental departments", 44-51; music and music teachers, 44-51, 55-6, 58-9; foreign languages, 44-5, 51, 58-9; art, 44, 50-1, foreigners on faculty, 45, 51, commencement, 54-7; and Sherman's army, 59-67
 South Carolina Female Institute, announced, 12-5; *see also* South

- Carolina Female Collegiate Institute
 Sparta, Ga., iv
 Stone, Col. G. A., burning of Columbia, 61, 64
 Strawinski, Bellini O., student, 23
 Strawinski, F. T., 60; Institute faculty, 33, 44; music compositions of, 47
 Strother, Carrie C., student, 23
 Strother, Cordelia, student, 41
 Sullivan, Ellen M., student, 23
 Sullivan, Josephine S., student, 23
 Sumter, 20-2
 Sumter District, 21, 45
 Swearengim, Catherine E., student, 23
 Thomas, Anne, student, 23
 Thomas, Elizabeth A., student, 23
 Thompson, Sallie E., student, 18, 23, 48
 Thompson, Josephine M., student, 23
 Thomson, James, *Seasons*, 36
 Thomson, Mary C., student, 23
 Tillman, Charlotte D., student, 23
 Togno, Acelie, Principal of Barhamville, 45; leases the Institute, 58-9
 Toland, Lucy M. G., student, 23
 Torriani, Angelo, 49
 Townsend, Phoebe W., student, 23, 34
 Trinity Church, Columbia, iii
 Troy, N. Y., 58
 Vermont, 27, 28
 Walker, Rev. C. B., 65
 Walterboro, 20, 22
 Waring, S. Edith, student, 23
 Warne, Henry, iv
 Washington, D. C., iv
 Watson, Kate, student, 53, 54
 Wentz, Christian, 58
 Whelpley, Samuel, *Compend of History, Questions on*, 38
 Whitaker, Mary J., student, 18, 23
 Wier, Martha S., student, 18, 23
 Wigfall, Charlotte, E., student, 23
 Wilds, Elizabeth J. student, 23
 Willard, Emma, iv, 58
 Williams, Isabella C., student, 23
 Williamsburg District, 30, 49-50
 Wilmington, N. C., 36, 41
 Winnsboro, 22
 Witherspoon, Fannie E., student, 23
 Woods, Gen. C. R., 64
 Woods, Gen. W. B., 64
 Woodson, Lucy A., student, 23
 Yorkville, 21-3
 Young, Edward, *Night Thoughts*, 36
 Zimmerman, Christopher, Institute faculty; music compositions of, 47; artist, 50-1

